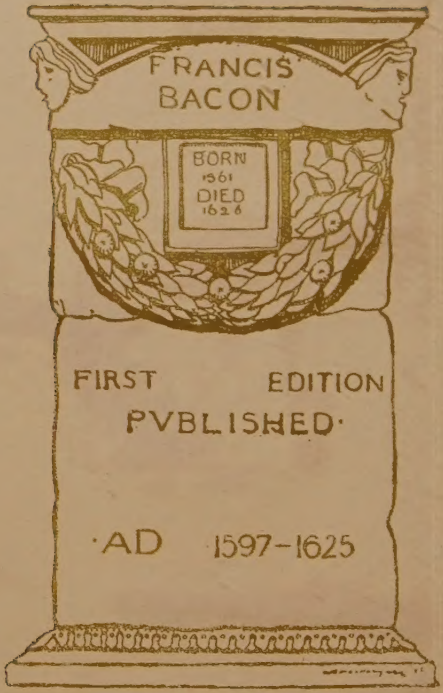
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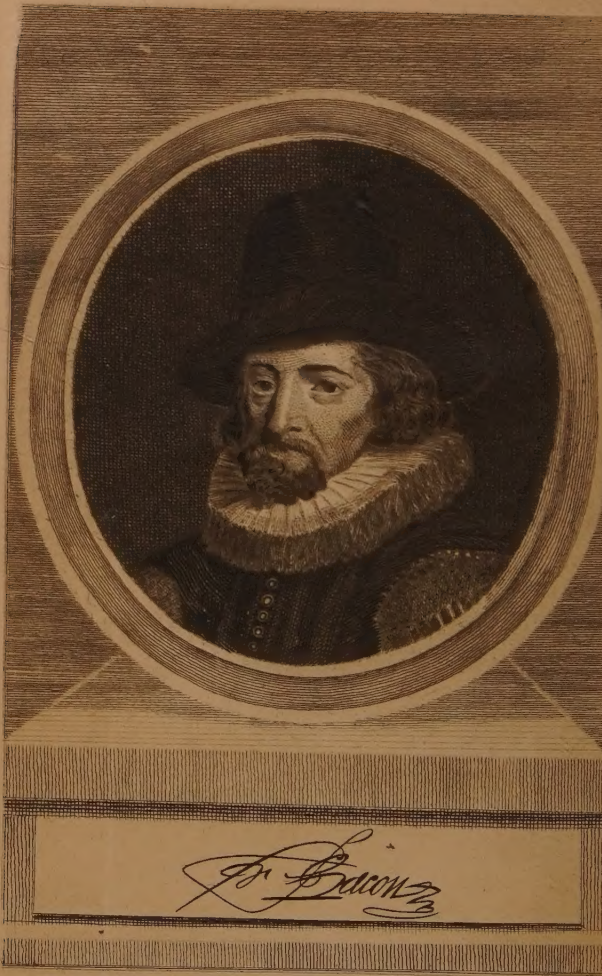
Fr. Bacon

ESSAYES OR COUNSELS CIVILL & MORALL

FRANCIS BACON LORD VERULAM

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

MY VERY GOOD LO.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

HIS GRACE, LO. HIGH ADMIRALL

OF ENGLAND.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON saies; *A good Name is as a precious oyntment;* And I assure my selfe, such wil your *Graces* Name bee, with Posteritie. For your Fortune, and Merit both, have beene Eminent. And you have planted Things, that are like to last. I doe now publish my *Essayes;* which of all my other workes, have beene most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number, and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke. I thought it therefore agreeable, to my Affection, and Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your

Name before them, both in English, and in Latine. For I doe conceive, that the Latine Volume of them, (being in the Universall Language) may last, as long as Bookes last. My *Instauration*, I dedicated to the *King:* My *Historie* of *HENRY the Seventh*, (which I have now also translated into Latine) and my *Portions* of *Naturall History*, to the *Prince:* And these I dedicate to your *Grace;* Being of the best Fruits, that by the good Encrease, which *God* gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yeeld. *God* leade your *Grace* by the Hand.

Your Graces most Obliged and faithfull Servant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

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ESSAYES

ESSAYES

I

Of Truth

WHAT *is Truth ;* said jesting *Pilate ;* And would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddinesse ; And count it a Bondage, to fix a Beleefe ; Affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kinde be gone, yet there remaine certaine discoursing Wits, which are of the same veines, though there be not so much Bloud in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not onely the Difficultie, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth ;* Nor againe, that when it is found, it imposeth upon mens Thoughts ; that doth bring *Lies* in favour : But a naturall, though corrupt Love, of the *Lie* it selfe. One of the later Schoole of the Grecians, examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to thinke what should be in it, that men should love *Lies ;* Where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets ; Nor for Advantage, as with the Mer-

Truth is hard to find

And a Lie is pleasant

chant; but for the *Lies* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth*, is a Naked, and Open day light, that doth not shew, the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, halfe so Stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearle, that sheweth best by day: But it will not rise, to the price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever adde Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens Mindes, Vaine Opinions, Flattering Hopes, False valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Mindes, of a Number of Men, poore shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesie, *Vinum Dæmonum;* because it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is, but with the shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Minde, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and setleth in it, that doth the hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus, in mens depraved Judgements, and Affections, yet *Truth*, which onely doth judge it selfe, teacheth, that the Inquirie of *Truth*, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; The knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Beleefe of *Truth*, which is the Enjoying of it; is the Soveraigne Good of humane Nature. The first Creature of God, in the workes of the Dayes, was the Light of the Sense; The last, was the Light of Reason;

And his Sabbath Worke, ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light, upon the Face, of the Matter or Chaos; Then he breathed Light, into the Face of Man; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light, into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferiour to the rest, saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea: A pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battaile, and the Adventures thereof, below: But no pleasure is comparable, to the standing, upon the vantage ground of Truth:* (A hill not to be commanded, and where the Ayre is alwaies cleare and serene;) *And to see the Errours, and Wandrings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the vale below:* So alwaies, that this prospect, be with Pitty, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans Minde Move in Charitie, Rest in Providence, and Turne upon the Poles of *Truth*.

The Knowledge and Love of Truth

To passe from Theologicall, and Philosophicall *Truth*, to the *Truth* of civill Businesse; It will be acknowledged, even by those, that practize it not, that cleare and Round dealing, is the Honour of Mans Nature; And that Mixture of Falshood, is like Allay in Coyne of Gold and Silver; which may make the Metall worke the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding, and crooked courses, are the Goings of the Serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice,

Truth in our Dealings with others

that doth so cover a Man with Shame, as to be found false, and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigny* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason, why the word of the *Lie*, should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinkes from Man. Surely the Wickednesse of Falshood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peale, to call the Judgements of God, upon the Generations of Men, It being foretold, that when Christ commeth, *He shall not finde Faith upon the Earth.*

II

Of Death

MEN feare *Death*, as Children feare to goe in the darke: And as that Natural Feare in Children, is increased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of sinne*, and Passage to another world, is Holy, and Religious; But the Feare of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weake. Yet in Religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanitie, and of Superstition. You shal reade, in some of the Friars Books of *Mortification*, that a man should thinke with

himselfe, what the Paine is, if he have but his Fingers end Pressed, or Tortured; And thereby imagine, what the Paines of *Death* are, when the whole Body, is corrupted and dissolved; when many times, *Death* passeth with lesse paine, then the Torture of a Limme: For the most vitall parts, are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake onely as a Philosopher, and Naturall Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa.* Groanes and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blackes, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the minde of man, so weake, but it Mates, and Masters, the Feare of *Death:* And therefore Death, is no such terrible Enemie, when a man hath so many Attendants, about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death; Love* slights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Griefe* flieth to it; *Feare* pre-occupateth it; Nay we reade, after *Otho* the Emperour had slaine himselfe, *Pitty* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meere compassion to their Soveraigne, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay *Seneca* addes *Nicenesse & Saciety; Cogita quam diù eadem feceris; Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiàm Fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant, nor miserable, onely upon a wearinesse to doe the same thing, so oft over and over. It is no lesse worthy to observe, how little Alteration, in good Spirits,

The Pains of Death

Great Spirits do not fear Death

the Approaches of *Death* make; For they appeare, to be the same Men, till the last Instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a Complement; *Livia, Conjugij nostri memor, vive & vale. Tiberius* in dissimulation; As *Tacitus* saith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Dissimulatio, deserebant. Vespasian* in a Jest; Sitting upon the Stoole, *Ut puto Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani;* Holding forth his Necke. *Septimius Severus* in dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. Certainly, the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost upon *Death*, and by their great preparations, made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponat Naturæ.* It is as Naturall to die, as to be borne; And to a little Infant, perhaps, the one, is as painfull, as the other. He that dies in an earnest Pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Bloud; who, for the time, scarce feeles the Hurt; And therefore, a Minde fixt, and bent upon somewhat, that is good, doth avert the Dolors of *Death:* But above all, beleeve it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. *Death* hath this also; That it openeth the Gate, to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envie.

—— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III

Of Unity in Religion

RELIGION being the chiefe Band of humane Society, it is a happy thing, when it selfe, is well contained, within the true Band of *Unity*. The Quarrels, and Divisions about *Religion*, were Evils unknowne to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen, consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies; then in any constant Beleefe. For you may imagine, what kinde of Faith theirs was, when the chiefe Doctors, and Fathers of their Church, were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, That he is a *Jealous God;* And therefore, his worship and *Religion*, will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speake, a few words, concerning the *Unity* of the *Church; What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; And what the Meanes?*

The Fruits of Unity

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well Pleasing of God, which is All in All) are two; The One, towards those, that are *without the Church;* The Other, towards those, *that are within*. For the Former; It is certaine, that Heresies, and Schismes, are of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more then Corruption of Manners. For as in the Naturall Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse then a Corrupt Humor; So in the Spirituall. So

The Fruits of Unity

that nothing, doth so much keepe Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Unity:* And therefore, whensoever it commeth to that passe, that one saith, *Ecce in Deserto;* Another saith, *Ecce in penetralibus;* That is, when some Men seeke Christ, in the Conventicles of Heretikes, and others, in an Outward Face of a Church, that voice had need continually to sound in Mens Eares, *Nolite exire, Goe not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation, drew him to have a speciall care of those *without*) saith; *If an Heathen come in, and heare you speake with severall Tongues, Will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists, and prophane Persons, do heare of so many Discordant, and Contrary Opinions in *Religion;* It doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them, *To sit downe in the chaire of the Scorners.* It is but a light Thing, to be Vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing; that in his Catalogue of Books, of a faigned Library, sets Downe this Title of a Booke; *The morris daunce of Heretikes.* For indeed, every Sect of them, hath a Divers Posture, or Cringe by themselves, which cannot but Move Derision, in Worldlings, and Depraved Politickes, who are apt to contemne Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within;* It is *Peace;* which containeth infinite Blessings: It establisheth Faith; It kindleth Charity; The outward Peace of the Church,

Distilleth into Peace of Conscience; And it turneth the Labours, of Writing, and Reading of Controversies, into Treaties of Mortification, and Devotion. **The Bounds of Unity**

Concerning the *Bounds of Unity;* The true Placing of them, importeth exceedingly. There appeare to be two extremes. For to certaine *Zelants* all Speech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to doe with peace? turne thee behinde me. Peace* is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwise, certaine *Laodiceans*, and Luke-warme Persons, thinke they may accommodate Points of *Religion*, by Middle Waies, and taking part of both: And witty Reconcilements; As if they would make an Arbitrement, betweene God and Man. Both these Extremes are to be avoyded; which will be done, if the League of Christians, penned by our Saviour himselfe, were in the two crosse Clauses thereof, soundly and plainly expounded; *He that is not with us, is against us:* And againe; *He that is not against us, is with us:* That is, if the Points Fundamentall and of Substance in *Religion*, were truly discerned and distinguished, from Points not meerely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may seeme to many, a Matter triviall, and done already: But if it were done lesse partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give onely this Advice, according to my small Modell. Men ought to take heede, of rending Gods Church, by two kinds of Controversies. The one is, when the Matter

Points of Controversy

of the Point controverted, is too small and light, not worth the Heat, and Strife about it, kindled onely by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seame: But the Churches Vesture was of divers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, Scissura non sit;* They be two Things, *Unity*, and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the Matter of the Point Controverted is great; but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; So that it becommeth a Thing, rather Ingenious, then Substantiall. A man that is of Judgement and understanding, shall sometimes heare Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himselfe, that those which so differ, meane one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to passe, in that distance of Judgement, which is betweene Man and Man; Shall wee not thinke, that God above, that knowes the Heart, doth not discerne, that fraile Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed, by *St. Paul*, in the Warning and Precept, that he giveth, concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum Novitates, & Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ.* Men create Oppositions, which are not; And put them into new termes, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to governe the Terme, the Terme in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities;* The one, when the Peace is grounded, but upon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours

will agree in the Darke: The other, when it is peeced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falshood, in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay, in the toes of Nabucadnezars Image;* They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate.

Means of procuring Unity

Concerning the *Meanes of procuring Unity;* Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Unity*, they doe not Dissolve and Deface the Lawes of Charity, and of humane Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians; the Spirituall, and Temporall; And both have their due Office, and place, in the maintenance of *Religion.* But we may not take up the Third sword, which is Mahomets Sword, or like unto it; That is, to propagate *Religion*, by Warrs, or by Sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences; except it be in cases of Overt Scandall, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practize, against the State; Much lesse to Nourish Seditions; To Authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions; To put the Sword into the Peoples Hands; And the like; Tending to the Subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is, but to dash the first Table, against the Second; And so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the Sacrificing of his owne Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had knowne of

Not by Mahomet's Sword

the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have beene, Seven times more Epicure and Atheist, then he was. For as the temporall Sword, is to bee drawne, with great circumspection, in Cases of *Religion*; So it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that bee left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devill said; *I will ascend, and be like the Highest;* But it is greater Blasphemy, to personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse;* And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion*, to descend, to the cruell and execrable Actions, of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States, and Governments? Surely, this is to bring Downe the Holy Ghost, in stead of the Likenesse of a Dove, in the Shape of a Vulture, or Raven: And to set, out of the Barke of a Christian Church, a Flagge of a Barque of Pirats, and *Assassins*. Therfore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; And all Learnings, both Christian and Morall, as by their Mercury Rod; Doe Damne and send to Hell, for ever, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; As hath beene already in good part done. Surely in Counsels, Concerning *Religion*, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed; *Ira hominis non implet Justiciam Dei.* And it was a notable Observation, of a wise Father, And no lesse ingenuously confessed; *That those, which*

held and perswaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interessed therin, themselves, for their owne ends.

Revenge is wild Justice

IV

Of Revenge

REVENGE is a kinde of Wilde Justice; which the more Mans Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Revenge* of that wrong, putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking *Revenge*, A Man is but even with his Enemy; But in passing it over, he is Superiour: For it is a Princes part to Pardon. And *Salomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a Man to passe by an offence.* That which is past, is gone, and Irrevocable; And wise Men have Enough to doe, with things present, and to come: Therefore, they doe but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man, doth a wrong, for the wrongs sake; But therby to purchase himselfe, Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therfore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himselfe better then mee? And if any Man should doe wrong, meerely out of ill nature, why? yet it is but like the Thorn, or Bryar, which prick, and scratch, because they can doe no other. The most Tolerable Sort of *Revenge*, is for those wrongs which there is no Law to

Revenges public and private

remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the *Revenge* be such, as there is no law to punish: Else, a Mans Enemy, is still before hand, And it is two for one. Some, when they take *Revenge*, are Desirous the party should know, whence it commeth: This is the more Generous. For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in Making the Party repent: But Base and Crafty Cowards, are like the Arrow, that flyeth in the Darke. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a Desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall reade* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; But you never read, that wee are commanded, to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job*, was in a better tune; *Shall wee* (saith he) *take good at Gods Hands, and not be content to take evill also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certaine; That a Man that studieth *Revenge*, keepes his owne Wounds greene, which otherwise would heale, and doe well. Publique *Revenges*, are, for the most part, Fortunate; As that for the Death of *Cæsar*; For the Death of *Pertinax*; for the Death of *Henry* the Third of France; And many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not so. Nay rather, Vindicative Persons live the Life of Witches; who as they are Mischievous, So end they Infortunate.

V

Of Adversitie

IT was an high speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoickes) *That the good things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good things, that belong to Adversity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum, Optabilia; Adversarum, Mirabilia.* Certainly if Miracles, be the Command over Nature, they appeare most in Adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his, then the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatnesse, to have in one, the Frailty of a Man, & the Security of a God. Verè magnum, habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poesy; where Transcendences are more allowed. And the Poets indeed, have beene busy with it; For it is, in effect, the thing, which is figured in that Strange Fiction, of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; Nay, and to have some approach, to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when hee went to unbinde Prometheus*, (by whom Humane Nature is represented) *sailed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher:* Lively describing Christian Resolution; that saileth, in the fraile Barke of the Flesh, thorow the Waves of the World. But to speake in a Meane. The Vertue of *Prosperitie*, is Temperance; The Vertue of *Adversity*, is Fortitude: which in Morals is

Fortitude in Adversity

Adversity discovers Virtue

the more Heroicall Vertue. *Prosperity* is the Blessing of the Old Testament; *Adversity* is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the Clearer Revelation of Gods Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you Listen to *Davids* Harpe, you shall heare as many Herselike Ayres, as Carols: And the Pencill of the holy Ghost, hath laboured more, in describing, the Afflictions of *Job*, then the Felicities of *Salomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Feares and Distastes; And *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. Wee see in Needle-workes, and Imbroideries, It is more pleasing, to have a Lively Worke, upon a Sad and Solemne Ground; then to have a Darke and Melancholy Worke, upon a Lightsome Ground: Judge therfore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Vertue is like pretious Odours, most fragrant, when they are incensed, or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice; But *Adversity* doth best discover Vertue.

VI

Of Simulation and Dissimulation

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdome; For it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know, when to tell Truth, and to doe it. Therfore it is the weaker

Sort of Politicks, that are the great Dissemblers.

Dissimulation used only by the weaker Sort

Tacitus saith; *Livia sorted well, with the Arts of her Husband, & Dissimulation of her Sonne:* Attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And againe, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian*, to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith; *We rise not, against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closenesse of Tiberius.* These Properties of *Arts* or *Policy*, and *Dissimulation* or *Closenesse*, are indeed Habits and Faculties, severall, and to be distinguished. For if a Man, have that Penetration of Judgment, as he can discerne, what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secretted, and what to be shewed at Halfe lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him, A Habit of *Dissimulation*, is a Hinderance, and a Poorenesse. But if a Man cannot obtaine to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in generall; Like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that ever were, have had all an Opennesse, and Francknesse of dealing; And a name of Certainty, and Veracity; But then they were like Horses, well mannaged; For they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turne: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed,

Secrecy required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to passe, that the former Opinion, spred abroad of their good Faith, and Clearnesse of dealing, made them almost Invisible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Mans Selfe. The first *Closenesse*, *Reservation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himselfe without Observation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The second *Dissimulation*, in the *Negative*; when a man lets fall Signes, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the Affirmative; when a Man industriously, and expressely, faigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the first of these, *Secrecy*: It is indeed, the Vertue of a Confessour; And assuredly, the *Secret* Man, heareth many Confessions; For who will open himselfe, to a Blab or a Babler? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth Discoverie; As the more Close Aire, sucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly use, but for the Ease of a Mans Heart, so *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of Many Things, in that kinde; while Men rather discharge their Mindes, then impart their Mindes. In few words, Mysteries are due to *Secrecy*. Besides (to say Truth) *Nakednesse* is uncomely, as well in Minde, as Body; and it addeth no small Reverence, to Mens Manners, and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Persons, they are commonly Vaine, and Credulous withall. For He that talketh, what he knoweth, will also talke,

what he knoweth not. Therfore set it downe; *That an Habit of Secrecy, is both Politick, and Morall.* And in this Part, it is good, that a Mans Face, give his Tongue, leave to Speake. For the Discovery, of a Mans Selfe, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weaknesse, and Betraying; By how much, it is many times, more marked and beleeved, than a Mans words.

Dissimulation and Simulation distinguished

For the Second, which is *Dissimulation.* It followeth many times upon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that, he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man, to keepe an indifferent carriage, betweene both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Ballance, on either side. They will so beset a man with Questions, and draw him on, and picke it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must shew an Inclination, one way; Or if he doe not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he give himselfe a little Scope of *Dissimulation;* which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Traine of *Secrecy.*

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and lesse politicke; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a generall Custome of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a naturall Falsenesse, or Fearefulnesse; Or of a Minde,

Advantages of Dissimulation

that hath some maine Faults; which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of use.

The great *Advantages* of *Simulation* and *Dissimulation* are three. First to lay asleepe Opposition, and to Surprize. For where a Mans Intentions, are published, it is an Alarum, to call up, all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Mans Selfe, a faire Retreat: For if a man engage himselfe, by a manifest Declaration, he must goe through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Minde of another. For to him that opens himselfe, Men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (faire) let him goe on, and turne their Freedome of Speech, to Freedome of thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverbe of the Spaniard; *Tell a lye, and finde a Troth.* As if there were no way of Discovery, but by *Simulation.* There be also three *Disadvantages*, to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Dissimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Shew of Fearfulnesse, which in any Businesse, doth spoile the Feathers, of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it pusleth & perplexeth the Conceits of many; that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walke, almost alone, to his owne Ends. The third, and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man, of one, of the most principall Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Beleefe.* The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have *Opennesse*

in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Dissimulation* in seasonable use; And a Power to faigne, if there be no Remedy. The Joys of Parents

VII

Of Parents and Children

THE Joyes of *Parents* are Secret; And so are their Griefes, and Feares: They cannot utter the one; Nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours; But they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; But Memory, Merit, and Noble workes, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see, the Noblest workes, and Foundations, have proceeded from *Childlesse Men;* which have sought to expresse the Images of their Minds; where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most Indulgent towards their *Children;* Beholding them, as the Continuance, not only of their kinde, but of their Worke; And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their severall *Children*, is many times unequall; And sometimes unworthy; Especially in the *mother;* As Salomon saith; *A wise sonne*

How to bring up Children

rejoyceth the Father; but an ungracious sonne shames the Mother. A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two, of the Eldest, respected, and the Youngest made wantons; But in the middest, some that are, as it were forgotten, who, many times, neverthelesse, prove the best. The Illiberalitie of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmefull Errour; Makes them base; Acquaints them with Shifts; Makes them sort with meane Company; And makes them surfet more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proofe is best, when Men keepe their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoolemasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times sorteth to Discord, when they are Men; And disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene *Children*, and Nephewes, or neere Kinsfolkes; But so they be of the Lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much, that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more then his owne *Parent*; As the Bloud happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations, and Courses, they meane their Children should take; For then they are most flexible; And let them not too much apply themselves, to the Disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they have

most Minde to. It is true, that if the Affection or Aptnesse of the *Children*, be Extraordinary, then it is good, not to crosse it; But generally, the Precept is good; *Optimum elige, suave & facile illud faciet Consuetudo. Younger Brothers* are commonly Fortunate, but seldome or never, where the *Elder* are disinherited. The Care of Posterity

VIII

Of Marriage and Single Life

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given Hostages to Fortune; For they are Impediments, to great Enterprises, either of Vertue, or Mischiefe. Certainly, the best workes, and of greatest Merit for the Publike, have proceeded from the *unmarried*, or *Childlesse Men;* which, both in Affection, and Meanes, have married and endowed the Publike. Yet it were great Reason, that those that have *Children*, should have greatest care of future times; unto which, they know, they must transmit, their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts doe end with themselves, and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children*, but as Bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought, so much the richer.

The Single Life is best for many

For perhaps, they have heard some talke; *Such an one is a great rich Man;* And another except to it; *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children:* As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certaine Selfe-pleasing, and humorous Mindes, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will goe neare, to thinke their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends; best Masters; best Servants; but not alwayes best Subjects; For they are light to runne away; And almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church men: For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Poole. It is indifferent for Judges and Magistrates: For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Servant, five times worse than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I finde the Generalls commonly in their Hortatives, put Men in minde of their *Wives and Children:* And I thinke the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar souldier more base. Certainly, *Wife* and *Children*, are a kinde of Discipline of Humanity: And *single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Meanes are lesse exhaust; yet, on the other side, they are more cruell, and hard hearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) because their Tendernesse, is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custome, and therfore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands;* As was said of *Ulysses; Vetulam suam*

prætulit Immortalitati. Chast Women are often Proud, and froward, as Presuming upon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if She thinke her *Husband* Wise; which She will never doe, if She finde him *Jealous*. *Wives* are young Mens Mistresses; Companions for middle Age; and old Mens Nurses. So as a Man may have a Quarrell to marry, when he will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Man should marry? *A young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.* It is often seene, that bad *Husbands*, have very good *Wives;* whether it be, that it rayseth the Price of their *Husbands* Kindnesse, when it comes; Or that the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never failes, if the bad *Husbands* were of their owne choosing, against their Friends consent; For then, they will be sure, to make good their owne Folly.

Good and bad Husbands and Wives

IX

Of Envy

THERE be none of the *Affections*, which have beene noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but *Love*, and *Envy*. They both have vehement wishes; They frame themselves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; And they come

The Evil Eye

easily into the Eye; especially upon the presence of the Objects; which are the Points, that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, An *Evill Eye:* And the Astrologers, call the evill Influences of the Starrs, *Evill Aspects;* So that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Envy*, an Ejaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay some have beene so curious, as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an *Envious Eye* doth most hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; For that sets an Edge upon *Envy;* And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *person Envied*, doe come forth, most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not unworthy, to be thought on, in fit place,) wee will handle, what *Persons are apt to Envy others; What persons are most Subject to be Envied themselves;* And, *What is the Difference between Publique, and private Envy.*

A man, that hath no vertue in himselfe, ever *envieth* Vertue in others. For Mens Mindes, will either feed upon their owne Good, or upon others Evill; And who wanteth the one, wil prey upon the other; And who so is out of Hope to attaine to anothers Vertue, will seeke to come at even hand, by Depressing an others Fortune.

A man that is Busy, and Inquisitive, is commonly *Envious:* For to know much of other Mens Matters, cannot be, because all that Adoe

may concerne his owne Estate: Therfore it must needs be, that he taketh a kinde of plaie-pleasure, in looking upon the Fortunes of others; Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Businesse, finde much matter for *Envy*. For *Envy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keepe home; *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus.*

Persons apt to envy

Men of Noble birth, are noted, to be *envious* towards New Men, when they rise. For the distance is altered; And it is like a deceipt of the Eye, that when others come on, they thinke themselves goe backe.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuches, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Envious:* For he that cannot possibly mend his owne case, will doe what he can to impaire anothers; Except these Defects light, upon a very brave, and Heroicall Nature; which thinketh to make his Naturall Wants, part of his Honour: In that it should be said, that an Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; Affecting the Honour of a Miracle; as it was in *Narses* the Eunuch, and *Agesilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were Lame men.

The same, is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; For they are, as Men fallen out with the times; And thinke other Mens Harmes, a Redemption, of their owne Sufferings.

They, that desire to excell in too many Matters, out of Levity, and Vaine glory, are ever *Envious;* For they cannot want worke; It being

Persons subject to be envied

impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpasse them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *Envied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works, wherein he had a veine to excell.

Lastly, neare Kinsfolks, and Fellowes in Office, and those that have beene bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them, their owne Fortunes; And pointeth at them, and commeth oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others: And *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cains Envy*, was the more vile, and Malignant, towards his brother *Abel;* Because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no Body to looke on. Thus much for *those that are apt to Envy.*

Concerning *those that are more or lesse subject to Envy:* First, Persons of eminent Vertue, when they are advanced, are lesse *envied.* For their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man *Envieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Againe, *Envy* is ever joyned, with the Comparing of a Mans Selfe; And where there is no Comparison, no *Envy;* And therfore Kings, are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons, are most *envied*, at their first comming in, and afterwards overcome it better; wheras contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *envied*, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Vertue be the

same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre;* For fresh Men grow up, that darken it. How Envy is abated

Persons of Noble Bloud, are lesse *envied*, in their Rising: For it seemeth, but Right, done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their Fortune; And *Envy* is as the Sunne Beames, that beat hotter, upon a Bank or steepe rising Ground; then upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are lesse *envied*, than those that are advanced suddainly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joyned with their Honour, great Travels, Cares, or Perills, are lesse subject to *Envy*. For Men thinke, that they earne their Honours hardly, and pitty them sometimes; And *Pitty*, ever healeth *Envy;* Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deepe, and sober sort of Politique persons, in their Greatnesse, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; Chanting a *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feele it so, but onely to abate the Edge of *Envy*. But this is to be understood, of Businesse, that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, then an unnecessary, and Ambitious Ingrossing of Businesse. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, then for a great Person, to preserve all other inferiour Officers, in their full Rights, and Preheminences, of their Places. For by that meanes, there be so many Skreenes betweene him, and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy*, which carry the Greatnesse of their Fortunes,

The Cure of Envy

in an insolent and proud Manner: Being never well, but while they are shewing, how great they are, Either by outward Pompe, or by Triumphing over all Opposition, or Competition; whereas Wise men will rather doe sacrifice to *Envy*; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and overborne in things, that doe not much concerne them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; That the Carriage of Greatnesse, in a plaine and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vaine glory) doth draw lesse *Envy*, then if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that course, a Man doth but disavow Fortune; And seemeth to be conscious, of his owne want in worth; And doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy*, had somewhat in it, of *Witchcraft*; so there is no other Cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*: And that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) & to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons bring in ever upon the Stage, some Body, upon whom to derive the *Envie*, that would come upon themselves; Sometimes upon Ministers, and Servants; Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates; and the like; And for that turne, there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speake of Publique *Envy*. There is yet some good in *Publique Envy*; whereas in

Private, there is none. For *Publique Envy* is as an *Ostracisme*, that eclipseth Men, when they grow too great. And therefore it is a Bridle also to Great Ones, to keepe them within Bounds. **Public Envy or Discontentment**

This *Envy*, being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the Moderne languages, by the name of *Discontentment:* Of which we shall speake in handling *Sedition*. It is a disease, in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection, spreadeth upon that, which is sound, and tainteth it; So when *Envy*, is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore, there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions. For that doth argue, but a Weaknesse, and Feare of *Envy*, which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usuall in *Infections ;* which if you feare them, you call them upon you.

This publique *Envy*, seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principall Officers, or Ministers, rather then upon Kings, & Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Minister, be great, when the cause of it, in him, is smal; or if the *Envy* be generall, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate; then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it selfe. And so much of *publike envy* or *discontentment*, & the difference therof from *Private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will adde this, in generall, touching the Affection of *Envy ;* that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continuall. For of

Envy is ever at work

other *Affections*, there is occasion given, but now and then: And therefore, it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit*. For it is ever working upon some, or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy*, doe make a man pine, which other Affections doe not; because they are not so continuall. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved; For which cause, it is the proper Attribute, of the Devill, who is called; *The Envious Man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*. As it alwayes commeth to passe, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the darke; And to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

X

Of Love

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love*, then the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Love* is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: But in Life, it doth much mischiefe: Sometimes like a *Syren*; Sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Love*: which shewes, that great Spirits, and great Businesse, doe keepe out this weake Passion. You must except, never-

thelesse, *Marcus Antonius* the halfe Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, and Law-giver: Whereof the former, was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the latter, was an Austere, and wise man: And therefore it seemes (though rarely) that *Love* can finde entrance, not only into an open Heart; but also into a Heart well fortified; if watch be not well kept. It is a poore Saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus:* As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Objects, should doe nothing, but kneele before a little Idoll, and make himselfe subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye; which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing, to note the Excesse of this Passion; And how it braves, the Nature, and value of things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but in *Love*. Neither is it meerely in the Phrase; For whereas it hath beene well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Mans Selfe; Certainly, the *Lover* is more. For there was never Proud Man, thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *loved:* And therefore, it was well said; *That it is impossible to love, and to be wise.* Neither doth this weaknesse appeare to others onely, and not to the Party *Loved;* But to the *Loved*, most of all: except the *Love* be reciproque. For, it is a true Rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the Reciproque, or with an inward,

Love doth much Mischief

Love troubleth Men's Fortunes

and secret Contempt. But how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets Relation, doth well figure them; That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Juno*, and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches*, and *Wisedome*. This Passion, hath his Flouds, in the very times of Weaknesse; which are, great *Prosperitie;* and great *Adversitie;* though this latter hath beene lesse observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the Childe of Folly. They doe best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keepe Quarter: And sever it wholly, from their serious Affaires, and Actions of life: For if it checke once with Businesse, it troubleth Mens Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no wayes be true, to their owne Ends. I know not how, but Martiall Men, are given to *Love:* I thinke it is, but as they are given to *Wine;* For *Perils*, commonly aske, to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Mans Nature, a secret Inclination, and Motion, towards *love* of others; which, if it be not spent, upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread it selfe, towards many; and maketh men become Humane, and Charitable; As it is seene sometime in Friars. Nuptiall *love* maketh Mankinde; Friendly *love* perfecteth it; but Wanton *love* Corrupteth, and Imbaseth it.

XI

Of Great Place

MEN in *Great Place*, are thrice *Servants:* Servants of the Soveraigne or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of Businesse. So as they have no Freedome; neither in their Persons; nor in their Actions; nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seeke Power, and to lose Libertie; Or to seeke Power over others, and to loose Power over a Mans Selfe. The Rising unto *Place* is Laborious; And by Paines Men come to greater Paines; And it is sometimes base; And by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The standing is slippery, and the Regresse, is either a downefall, or at least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cùm non sis, qui fueris, non esse, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would; neither will they, when it were Reason: But are impatient of privatenesse, even in Age, and Sicknesse, which require the Shadow: Like old Townesmen, that will be still sitting at their Street doore; though thereby they offer Age to Scorne. Certainly Great Persons, had need to borrow other Mens Opinions; to thinke themselves happy; For if they judge by their owne Feeling; they cannot finde it: But if they thinke with themselves, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would faine be as they

The Pains of Great Place

Power to do Good

are, then they are happy, as it were by report; When perhaps they finde the Contrary within. For they are the first, that finde their owne Griefs; though they be the last, that finde their owne Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes, are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the pusle of businesse, they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Minde. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In *Place*, There is License to doe Good, and Evill; wherof the latter is a Curse; For in Evill, the best condition is, not to will; The Second, not to Can. But Power to doe good, is the true and lawfull End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better then good Dreames; Except they be put in Act; And that cannot be without Power, and Place; As the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit, and good Works, is the End of Mans Motion; And Conscience of the same, is the Accomplishment of Mans Rest. For if a Man, can be Partaker of Gods Theater, he shall likewise be Partaker of Gods Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy *Place*, set before thee the best Examples; For Imitation, is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee, thine owne Example; And examine thy selfe strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that

have carried themselves ill, in the same *Place:* Not to set off thy selfe, by taxing their Memory; but to direct thy selfe, what to avoid. Reforme therfore, without Braverie, or Scandall, of former Times, and Persons; but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good Presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things, to the first Institution, and observe, wherin, and how, they have degenerate; but yet aske Counsell of both Times; Of the Ancient Time, what is best; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seeke to make thy Course Regular; that Men may know before hand what they may expect: But be not too positive, and peremptorie; And expresse thy selfe well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy *Place;* but stirre not questions of Jurisdiction: And rather assume thy Right, in Silence, and *de facto*, then voice it, with Claimes, and Challenges. Preserve likewise, the Rights of Inferiour *Places;* And thinke it more Honour to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in all. Embrace, and invite Helps, and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place; And doe not drive away such, as bring thee Information, as Medlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authoritie* are chiefly foure: *Delaies; Corruption; Roughnesse;* and *Facilitie.* For *Delaies;* Give easie Accesse; Keepe times appointed; Goe through with that which is in hand; And interlace not businesse, but of necessitie. For *Corruption;* Doe not onely binde thine owne Hands, or thy Servants hands, from

How Great Place should be borne

The Vices of Authority

taking; but binde the hands of Sutours also from offring. For Integritie used doth the one; but Integritie professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not onely the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore, alwayes, when thou changest thine Opinion, or Course, professe it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons, that move thee to change; And doe not thinke to steale it. A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparent Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close *Corruption*. For *Roughnesse;* It is a needlesse cause of *Discontent: Severitie* breedeth Feare, but *Roughnesse* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofes from Authoritie, ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for *Facilitie;* It is worse then Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then; But if Importunitie, or Idle Respects lead a Man, he shall never be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect Persons, is not good; For such a man will transgresse for a peece of Bread.* It is most true, that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the Man:* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse: *Omnium consensu, capax Imperij, nisi imperasset;* saith *Tacitus* of *Galba:* but of *Vespasian* he saith; *Solus Imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiencie, the other of Manners, and Affection. It is an assured Signe, of a worthy

and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or should be, the Place of Vertue: And as in Nature, Things move violently to their Place, and calmely in their Place: So Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authoritie setled and calme. All Rising to *Great Place*, is by a winding Staire: And if there be Factions, it is good, to side a Mans selfe, whilest hee is in the Rising; and to ballance Himselfe, when hee is placed. Use the Memory of thy Predecessour fairely, and tenderly; For if thou dost not, it is a Debt, will sure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, respect them, and rather call them, when they looke not for it, then exclude them, when they have reason to looke to be called. Be not too sensible, or too remembring, of thy Place, in Conversation, and private Answers to Suitors; But let it rather be said; *When he sits in Place, he is another Man.*

The Place sheweth the Man

XII

Of Boldnesse

IT is a triviall Grammar Schoole Text, but yet worthy a wise *Mans* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes; What was the Chiefe Part of an Oratour?* He answered, *Action;* what next? *Action;* what next again? *Action.* He said it, that knew it best; And had by nature, himselfe, no Advantage, in that

Boldness prevails over the Weak

he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Oratour, which is but superficiall, and rather the vertue of a Player; should be placed so high, above those other Noble Parts, of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: Nay almost alone, as if it were All in All. But the Reason is plaine. There is in Humane Nature, generally, more of the Foole, then of the Wise; And therfore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Mens Mindes is taken, are most potent. Wonderfull like is the Case of *Boldnesse*, in Civill Businesse; What first? *Boldnesse;* What Second, and Third? *Boldnesse.* And yet *Boldnesse* is a Childe of Ignorance, and Basenesse, farre inferiour to other Parts. But neverthelesse, it doth fascinate, and binde hand and foot, those, that are either shallow in Judgment; or weake in Courage, which are the greatest Part; Yea and prevaileth with wise men, at weake times. Therfore, we see it hath done wonders, in Popular States; but with Senates and Princes lesse; And more ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, then soone after; For *Boldnesse* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanques* for the Naturall Body: So are there *Mountebanques* for the Politique Body: Men that undertake great Cures; And perhaps have been Lucky, in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science; And therfore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a *Bold Fellow*, many times, doe *Mahomets* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People beleeve, that he would call an Hill to him; And

from the Top of it, offer up his Praiers, for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled; *Mahomet* cald the Hill to come to him, againe, and againe; And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet wil go to the hil.* So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of *Boldnesse*) they will but slight it over, and make a turne, and no more adoe. Certainly, to Men of great Judgment, *Bold* Persons, are a Sport to behold; Nay and to the Vulgar also, *Boldnesse* hath somewhat of the Ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subject of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldnesse* is seldome without some Absurdity. Especially, it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold* Fellow is out of Countenance; For that puts his Face, into a most Shruncken, and woodden Posture; As needes it must; For in Bashfulnesse, the Spirits doe a little goe and come; but with *Bold* Men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; Like a Stale at Chesse, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stirre. But this last, were fitter for a Satyre, then for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed; That *Boldnesse* is ever blinde: For it seeth not dangers, and Inconveniences. Therfore, it is ill in Counsell, good in Execution: So that the right Use of *Bold* persons is, that they never Command in Chiefe, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counsell, it is good to see dangers; And in

Boldness is ever blind

Goodness the Divine Virtue

Execution, not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII

Of Goodnesse and Goodnesse of Nature

I TAKE *Goodnesse* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weale of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia;* And the word *Humanitie* (as it is used) is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the Habit, and *Goodnesse of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues, and Dignities of the Minde, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deitie: And without it, Man is a Busie, Mischievous, Wretched Thing; No better then a Kinde of Vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall Vertue Charitie*, and admits no Excesse, but Errour. The desire of Power in Excesse, caused the Angels to fall; The desire of Knowledge in Excesse, caused Man to fall; But in *Charity*, there is no Excesse; Neither can Angell, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodnesse*, is imprinted deepely in the Nature of Man: In so much, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures: As it is seen in the Turks, a Cruell People, who neverthelesse, are kinde to Beasts, and give Almes to Dogs, and Birds: In so much, as *Busbechius* reporteth; A Christian Boy in *Con-*

stantinople, had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishnesse, a long Billed Fowle. Errours, indeed, in this vertue of *Goodnesse*, or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb; *Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Macciavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine Termes: *That the Christian Faith, had given up Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannicall, and unjust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnifie *Goodnesse*, as the Christian Religion doth. Therfore to avoid the Scandall, and the Danger both; it is good to take knowledge, of the Errours, of an Habit, so excellent. Seeke the Good of other Men, but be not in bondage, to their Faces, or Fancies; For that is but Facilitie, or Softnesse; which taketh an honest Minde Prisoner. Neither give thou *Æsops* Cocke a Gemme, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barly Corne. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Raine, and maketh his Sunne to shine, upon the Just, and Unjust;* But hee doth not raine Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Vertues, upon Men equally. Common Benefits, are to be communicate with all; But peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware, how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Patterne: For Divinitie maketh the Love of our Selves the Patterne; The Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture.

Of Error in Goodness

Of Malignity

Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poore, and follow mee: But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow mee; That is, except thou have a Vocation, wherin thou maist doe as much good, with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise, in feeding the Streames, thou driest the Fountaine. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodnesse*, directed by right Reason; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it: As on the other side, there is a Naturall Malignitie. For there be, that in their Nature, doe not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignitie, turneth but to a Crosnesse, or Frowardnesse, or Aptnesse to oppose, or Difficilnesse, or the like; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and meere Mischiefe. Such Men, in other mens Calamities, are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading Part; Not so good as the Dogs, that licked *Lazarus* Sores; but like Flies, that are still buzzing, upon any Thing that is raw; *Misanthropi*, that make it their Practise, to bring Men, to the Bough; And yet have never a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions, are the very Errours of Humane Nature: And yet they are the fittest Timber, to make great Politiques of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained, to be tossed; But not for Building houses, that shall stand firme. The Parts and Signes of *Goodnesse* are many. If a Man be Gracious, and Curteous to Strangers, it shewes, he is a Citizen of the World; And that his Heart, is no Island, cut off from other Lands;

but a Continent, that joynes to them. If he be Compassionate, towards the Afflictions of others, it shewes that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it selfe, when it gives the Balme. If he easily Pardons and Remits Offences, it shews, that his Minde is planted above Injuries; So that he cannot be shot. If he be Thankfull for small Benefits, it shewes, that he weighes Mens Mindes, and not their Trash. But above all, if he have *S^t. Pauls* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shewes much of a Divine Nature, and a kinde of Conformity with *Christ* himselfe. The Signs of Goodness

XIIII

Of Nobility

WE will speake of *Nobility*, first as a *Portion* of an *Estate;* Then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure, and absolute *Tyranny;* As that of the Turkes. For *Nobility* attempers *Soveraignty*, and drawes the Eyes of the People, somewhat aside from the *Line Royall*. But for *Democracies*, they need it not; And they are commonly, more quiet, and lesse subject to Sedition, then where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Mens Eyes are upon the Businesse, and not upon the Persons: Or if

Nobility in States

upon the Persons, it is for the Businesse sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedegree. Wee see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their Diversitie of Religion, and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The united Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, excell: For where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerfull. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Majestie to a Monarch, but diminisheth Power; And putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for Justice; And yet maintained in that heigth, as the Insolencie of Inferiours, may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility*, causeth Poverty, and Inconvenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expence; And besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility, fall in time to be weake in Fortune, it maketh a kinde of Disproportion, betweene Honour and Meanes.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Persons;* It is a Reverend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle, or Building not in decay; Or to see a faire Timber Tree, sound and perfect: How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; But Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility*, are commonly more Vertuous, but lesse Innocent, then their

Descendants: For there is, rarely, any Rising, but by a Commixture, of good and evill Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their vertues, remaine to their Posterity; And their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility* of *Birth*, commonly abateth Industry: And he that is not industrious, envieth him, that is. Besides, *Noble persons*, cannot goe much higher; And he that standeth at a stay, when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others towards them; Because they are in possession of Honour Certainly Kings, that have Able men of their *Nobility*, shall finde ease in imploying them; And a better Slide into their Businesse: For People naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to Command. **Nobility in Persons**

XV

Of Seditions and Troubles

SHEPHEARDS of *People*, had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempests* in *State*; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality; As Naturall Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are certaine hollow Blasts of Winde, and secret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempest, so are there in States:—

Signs of Sedition

—— *Ille etiam cæcos instare Tumultus*
Sæpe monet, Fraudesque, & operta tumescere Bella.

Libels, and licentious Discourses against the State, when they are frequent and open; And in like sort, false Newes, often running up and downe, to the disadvantage of the State, and hastily embraced; are amongst the Signes of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the Pedegre of *Fame*, saith, *She was sister to the Giants.*

Illam Terra Parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.—

As if *Fames* were the Reliques of *Seditions* past; But they are no lesse, indeed, the preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howsoever, he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more, but as Brother and Sister, Masculine and Feminine; Especially, if it come to that, that the best Actions of a State, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest Contentment, are taken in ill Sense, and traduced: For that shewes the Envy great, as *Tacitus* saith; *Conflata magna Invidia, seu benè, seu malè, gesta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that because these *Fames*, are a signe of *Troubles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much Severity, should be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the Despising of them, many times, checks them best; and the Going about to stop them,

doth but make a Wonder Long-lived. Also that kinde of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quàm exequi;* Disputing, Excusing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kinde of shaking off the yoake, and Assay of disobedience: Especially, if in those disputings, they, which are for the direction, speake fearefully, and tenderly; And those that are against it, audaciously. **Signs of Sedition**

Also, as *Machiavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and leane to a side, it is as a Boat that is overthrowen, by uneven weight, on the one Side; As was well seen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France:* For first, himselfe entred League for the Extirpation of the *Protestants;* and presently after, the same League was turned upon Himselfe. For when the Authority of Princes, is made but an Accessary to a Cause; And that there be other Bands, that tie faster, then the Band of Soveraignty, Kings begin to be put almost out of Possession.

Also, when Discords, and Quarrells, and Factions, are carried openly, and audaciously; it is a Signe, the Reverence of Government is lost. For the Motions of the greatest persons, in a Government, ought to be, as the Motions of the Planets, under *Primum Mobile;* (according to the old Opinion:) which is, That Every of them, is carried swiftly, by the Highest

Materials of Sedition

Motion, and softly in their owne Motion. And therfore, when great Ones, in their owne particular Motion, move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm ut Imperantium meminissent;* It is a Signe, the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that, wherwith Princes are girt from God; Who threatneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the foure Pillars of Government, are mainly shaken, or weakned, (which are *Religion*, *Justice*, *Counsell*, and *Treasure*,) Men had need to pray for Faire Weather. But let us passe from this Part of Predictions, (Concerning which, neverthelesse, more light may be taken, from that which followeth;) And let us speake first of the *Materials* of *Seditions;* Then of the *Motives* of them; And thirdly of the *Remedies.*

Concerning the *Materialls* of *Seditions.* It is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions*, (if the Times doe beare it,) is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuell prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kindes; *Much Poverty*, and *Much Discontentment.* It is certaine, so many *Overthrowne Estates*, so many Votes for *Troubles.* *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome*, before the Civill Warre.

Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.

This same *Multis utile Bellum*, is an assured and infallible Signe, of a State, disposed to *Seditions*, and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty*, and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joyned with a Want and Necessity, in the meane People, the danger is imminent, and great. For the Rebellions of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politique Body, like to Humours in the Naturall, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them, by this; whether they be Just, or Unjust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who doe often spurne at their owne Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Griefes, wherupon they rise, be in fact, great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Feare is greater then the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item.* Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things, that provoke the Patience, doe withall mate the Courage: But in Feares it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they have been often, or have been long and yet no Perill hath ensued; For as it is true, that every Vapor, or Fume, doth not turne into a Storme; So it is, nevertheless, true, that Stormes, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; And as the Spanish Proverb noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

Public Poverty and Discontent

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* are; *Innovation* in *Religion; Taxes; Alteration of*

Causes and Remedies of Sedition

Lawes and Customes; Breaking of Priviledges; Generall Oppression; Advancement of unworthy persons; Strangers; Dearths; Disbanded Souldiers; Factions growne desperate; And whatsoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies;* There may be some generall Preservatives, whereof wee will speake; As for the just Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease: And so be left to Counsell, rather then Rule.

The first *Remedy* or prevention, is to remove by all meanes possible, that *materiall Cause* of *Sedition*, wherof we spake; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*. To which purpose, serveth the Opening, and well Ballancing of Trade; The Cherishing of Manufactures; the Banishing of Idlenesse; the Repressing of waste and Excesse by Sumptuary Lawes; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyle; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes; And the like. Generally, it is to be foreseene, that the Population of a Kingdome, (especially if it be not mowen downe by warrs) doe not exceed, the Stock of the Kingdome, which should maintaine them. Neither is the Population, to be reckoned, onely by number: For a smaller Number, that spend more, and earne lesse, doe weare out an Estate, sooner then a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobilitie, and other Degrees of Qualitie, in an over Proportion, to the Common

People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessitie: And so doth likewise an overgrowne Clergie; For they bring nothing to the Stocke; And in like manner, when more are bred Schollers, then Preferments can take off. **The Enriching of the State**

It is likewise to be remembred, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be upon the Forrainer, (for whatsoever is some where gotten, is some where lost) There be but three Things, which one Nation selleth unto another; The *Commoditie* as Nature yeeldeth it; The *Manufacture;* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheeles goe, Wealth will flow as in a Spring tide. And it commeth many times to passe, that *Materiam superabit Opus;* That the Worke, the Carriage, is more worth, then the Materiall, and enricheth a State more; As is notably seene in the *Low-Countrey-men*, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policie is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneyes, in a State, be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand, upon the Devouring Trades of *Usurie*, *Ingrossing*, great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Removing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; There is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects;* The *Noblesse*, and the *Commonaltie*. When one of these

How to allay Discontents

is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; For Common People, are of slow Motion, if they be not excited, by the Greater Sort; And the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude, be apt and ready, to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort doe but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poets faigne, that the rest of the Gods, would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsell of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Embleme, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs, to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Griefes, and *Discontentments* to evaporate, (so it be without too great Insolency or Bravery) is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humors backe, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth maligne Ulcers, and pernicious Impostumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus*, mought well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments*; For there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when Griefes and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottome of the Vessell. Certainly, the Politique and Artificiall Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*; is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poyson of *Discontentments*. And it is a certaine Signe, of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold Mens hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot

by Satisfaction: And when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evill shall appeare so peremptory, but that it hath some Out-let of *Hope:* Which is the lesse hard to doe, because both particular Persons, and Factions, are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that, which they beleeve not. **How to allay Discontents**

Also, the Foresight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Persons* may resort, and under whom they may joyne, is a knowne, but an excellent Point of Caution. I understand a fit Head, to be one, that hath Greatnesse, & Reputation; That hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party;* and upon whom they turne their Eyes; And that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kinde of Persons, are either to be wonne, and reconciled to the State, and that in a fast and true manner; Or to be fronted, with some other, of the same Party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Factions, and Combinations that are adverse to the State, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust amongst themselves, is not one of the worst *Remedies.* For it is a desperate Case, if those, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Discord and Faction; And those that are against it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that some witty and sharpe Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions.* Cæsar did himselfe infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nescivit*

Incautious Speeches of Princes

Literas, non potuit dictare: For it did, utterly, cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other, give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himselfe by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi:* For it put the Souldiers, out of Hope, of the Donative. *Probus* likewise, by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus.* A Speech of great Despaire, for the Souldiers: And many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; Especially in these short Speeches, which flie abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one, or rather more, of Military Valour neere unto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, then were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is Habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur.* But let such Military Persons, be Assured, and well reputed of, rather then Factious, and Popular; Holding also good Correspondence, with the other Great Men in the *State;* Or else the Remedie, is worse then the Disease.

XVI

Of Atheisme

I HAD rather beleeve all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, then that this universall Frame, is without a Minde. And therefore, God never wrought Miracle, to convince *Atheisme*, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Mans Minde to *Atheisme;* But depth in Philosophy, bringeth Mens Mindes about to *Religion:* For while the Minde of Man, looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and goe no further: But when it beholdeth, the Chaine of them, Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*. Nay even that *Schoole*, which is most accused of *Atheisme*, doth most demonstrate *Religion;* That is, the *Schoole* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more Credible, that foure Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fift Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; then that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seedes unplaced, should have produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshall. The Scripture saith; *The Foole hath said in his Heart, there is no God:* It is not said; *The Foole hath thought in his Heart:* So as, he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as

God's Works refute it

Atheism a Lip-Belief

that he would have, then that he can throughly beleeve it, or be perswaded of it. For none deny there is a *God*, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no *God*. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheisme* is rather in the *Lip*, then in the *Heart* of Man, then by this; That *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthned, by the Consent of others: Nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects: And, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer for *Atheisme*, and not recant; Wheras, if they did truly thinke, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credits sake, when he affirmed; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World. Wherin, they say, he did temporize; though in secret, he thought, there was no *God*. But certainly, he is traduced; For his Words are Noble and Divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi Opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.* *Plato* could have said no more. And although, he had the Confidence, to deny the *Administration*, he had not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West*, have Names for their particular *Gods*, though they have no name for *God:* As if the *Heathens*, should have had the Names *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. But not the Word *Deus:* which shewes, that even those Bar-

barous People, have the Notion, though they have not the Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Savages take part, with the very subtillest Philosophers. The Contemplative *Atheist* is rare; A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; And yet they seeme to be more then they are; For that, all that Impugne a received *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*. But the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites;* which are ever Handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheisme* are; *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; For any one maine Division, addeth Zeale to both Sides; But many Divisions introduce *Atheisme*. Another is, *Scandall* of *Priests;* When it is come to that, which S. *Bernard* saith; *Non est jam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*. A third is, Custome of *Profane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters;* which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace, and Prosperity: For Troubles and Adversities doe more bow Mens Mindes to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Mans Nobility: For certainly, Man is of Kinne to the Beasts, by his Body; And if, he be not of Kinne to *God*, by his Spirit, he is a Base and Ignoble Creature. It destroies likewise Magnanimity, and the Raising of Humane Nature: For take an Example of a Dog; And mark what a Generosity, and

Causes of Atheism

Atheism debases Humanity

Courage he will put on, when he findes himselfe maintained, by a Man; who to him is in stead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura:* which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature, then his owne, could never attaine. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himselfe, upon divine Protection, and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith; which Humane Nature, in it selfe, could not obtaine. Therefore, as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull, so in this, that it depriveth humane Nature, of the Meanes, to exalt it selfe, above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: Never was there such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome:* Of this *State* heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hâc unâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes Nationesque superavimus.*

XVII

Of Superstition

IT were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all; then such an Opinion, as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbeleefe, the other is

Contumely: And certainly *Superstition* is the Reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather, a great deale, Men should say, there was no such Man, at all, as Plutarch; then that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were borne*, as the Poets speake of *Saturne*. And, as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheisme* leaves a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Naturall Piety; to Lawes; to Reputation; All which may be Guides to an outward Morall vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy, in the Mindes of Men. Therefore *Atheisme* did never perturbe *States*; For it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further; And we see the times enclined to *Atheisme* (as the Time of *Augustus Cæsar*) were civil Times. But *Superstition*, hath beene the Confusion of many States; And bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheares of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; And in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fooles; And Arguments are fitted to Practise, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Councell of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolemen bare great Sway; *That the Schoolemen were like Astronomers, which did faigne Eccentricks and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such Things:* And,

Superstition is Contumely towards God

Causes of Superstition

in like manner, that the Schoolmen, had framed a Number of subtile and intricate *Axiomes*, and *Theorems*, to save the practise of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are: Pleasing and sensuall Rites and Ceremonies: Excesse of Outward and Pharisaicall Holinesse; Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; The Stratagems of Prelates for their owne Ambition and Lucre: The Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; The taking an Aime at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; And lastly, Barbarous Times, Especially joyned with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a vaile, is a deformed Thing; For, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; So the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Wormes; So good Formes and Orders, corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition*, in avoiding *Superstition*; when men thinke to doe best, if they goe furthest from the *Superstition* formerly received: Therefore, Care would be had, that, (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away, with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII

Of Travaile

TRAVAILE, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; In the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *travaileth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *Schoole*, and not to *Travaile*. That Young Men travaile under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; So that he be such a one, that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seene in the Country where they goe; what Acquaintances they are to seeke; What Exercises or discipline the Place yeeldeth. For else young Men shall goe hooded, and looke abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seene, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travaile*, wherin so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; As if Chance, were fitter to be registred, then Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seene and observed are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to Ambassadours: The Courts of Justice, while they sit and heare Causes; And so of Consistories Ecclesiasticke: The Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are

Travel a Part of Education

Things to be seen and observed

therein extant: The Wals and Fortifications of Cities and Townes; And so the Havens & Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruines: Libraries; Colledges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, neare great Cities: Armories: Arsenals: Magazens: Exchanges: Burses; Ware-houses: Exercises of Horsemanship; Fencing; Trayning of Souldiers; and the like: Comedies; Such wherunto the better Sort of persons doe resort; Treasuries of Jewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and Rarities: And to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places; where they goe. After all which, the Tutors or Servants, ought to make diligent Enquirie. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts; Weddings; Funeralls; Capitall Executions; and such Shewes; Men need not to be put in mind of them; Yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man, to put his *Travaile*, into a little Roome, and in short time, to gather much, this you must doe. First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth. Then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Booke describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keepe also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one Citty, or Towne; More or lesse as the place deserveth, but not long: Nay, when he stayeth in one City or Towne, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the

Towne, to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him sequester himselfe from the Company of his Country men, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he travaileth. Let him upon his Removes, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he removeth; that he may use his Favour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travaile*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Travaile*; That which is most of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employd Men of Ambassadours; For so in *Travailing* in one Country he shall sucke the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit, Eminent Persons, in all Kindes, which are of great Name abroad; That he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: They are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company, with Cholerick and Quarelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their owne Quarels. When a *Travailer* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath *Travailed*, altogether behinde him; But maintaine a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Travaile* appeare rather in his Discourse, then in his Apparrell, or Gesture: And in his Discourse, let him be rather advised

How to travel with Profit

The Traveller returned

in his Answers, then forwards to tell Stories: And let it appeare, that he doth not change his Country Manners, for those of Forraigne Parts; But onely, prick in some Flowers, of that he hath Learned abroad, into the Customes of his owne Country.

XIX

Of Empire

IT is a miserable State of Minde, to have few Things to desire, and many Things to feare: And yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*; Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Mindes more Languishing; And have many Representations of Perills and Shadowes, which makes their Mindes the lesse cleare. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings Heart is inscrutable.* For Multitude of Jealousies, and Lack of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any Mans Heart, hard to finde, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes*, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon toyes: Sometimes upon a Building; Sometimes upon Erecting of an Order; Sometimes upon the Advancing of a Person; Sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand; As *Nero*

for playing on the Harpe, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those, that know not the Principle; *That the Minde of Man is more cheared, and refreshed, by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings*, that have been fortunate Conquerours in their first yeares; it being not possible for them to goe forward infinitely, but that they must have some Checke or Arrest in their Fortunes; turne in their latter yeares, to be Superstitious and Melancholy: As did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian;* And in our memory, *Charles* the fift; And others: For he that is used to goe forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his owne favour, and is not the Thing he was.

Kings need an Object of Desire

To speake now of the true Temper of *Empire:* It is a Thing rare, & hard to keep: For both Temper & Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to enterchange them. The Answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*, is full of Excellent Instruction; *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Neroes overthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in Government, sometimes he used to winde the pins too high, sometimes to let them downe too low.* And certaine it is, that Nothing destroieth Authority so much, as the unequall and untimely Enterchange of Power *Pressed* too farre, and *Relaxed* too much.

Difficulties in the Affairs of Kings

This is true; that the wisdome of all these latter Times in *Princes* Affaires, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefes, when they are neare; then solid and grounded Courses to keepe them aloofe. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune: And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: For no Man can forbid the Sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Businesse, are many and great; But the greatest difficulty, is often in their owne Minde. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of Power, to thinke to Command the End, and yet not to endure the Meane.

Kings have to deale with their *Neighbours*; their *Wives*; their *Children*; their *Prelates* or *Clergie*; their *Nobles*; their *Second-Nobles* or *Gentlemen*; their *Merchants*; their *Commons*; and their *Men of Warre*; And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their *Neighbours*; There can no generall Rule be given, (The Occasions are so variable,) save one; which ever holdeth; which is, That *Princes* doe keepe due Centinell, that none of their *Neighbours* doe overgrow so, (by Encrease of Territory, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, then they were. And this is, generally, the work of Standing Counsels

to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, *King Henry* the 8. of *England*, *Francis* the 1. *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the 5. *Emperour*, there was such a watch kept, that none of the Three, could win a Palme of Ground, but the other two, would straightwaies ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a Warre: And would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, *Guicciardine* saith, was the Security of *Italy*) made betwene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; *Lorenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, *Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Millaine*. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoole-Men, to be received; *That a warre cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent Injury, or Provocation.* For there is no Question, but a just Feare, of an Imminent danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawfull Cause of a Warre.

Their Neighbours and Wives

For their *Wives*; There are Cruell Examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poysoning of her husband: *Roxolana*, *Solymans* Wife, was the destruction, of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*; And otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen, had the principall hand, in the Deposing and Murther of her Husband. This kinde of danger, is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wives* have Plots, for the Raising of their owne Children; Or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies, likewise,

Their Children and Prelates

of dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entring of Fathers, into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatall to *Solymans* Line, as the Succession of the *Turks*, from *Solyman*, untill this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange Bloud; For that *Selymus* the Second was thought to be Supposititious. The destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardnesse, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatall to his House; For both *Constantinus*, and *Constance*, his Sonnes, died violent deaths; And *Constantius* his other Sonne, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sicknesse, but after that *Julianus* had taken Armes against him. The destruction of *Demetrius*, Sonne to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: But few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such distrust; Except it were, where the Sonnes were up, in open Armes against them; As was *Selymus* the first against *Bajazet:* And the three Sonnes of *Henry* the Second, King of *England.*

For their *Prelates;* when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them: As it was, in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury;* who with their Crosiars, did almost try it, with the Kings Sword; And yet they had to deale with Stout and Haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry*

the first, and *Henry* the second. The danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a dependance of forraine Authority; Or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People. **Their Nobles and Merchants**

For their *Nobles;* To keepe them at a distance, it is not amisse; But to depresse them, may make a King more Absolute, but lesse Safe; And lesse able to performe any thing, that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility;* Whereupon, it came to passe, that his Times were full of Difficulties, & Troubles; For the *Nobility*, though they continued loyall unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Businesse. So that in effect, he was faine to doe all things, himselfe.

For their *Second Nobles;* There is not much danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt: Besides, they are a Counterpoize to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent: And lastly, being the most immediate in Authority, with the Common People, they doe best temper Popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants;* They are *Vena porta;* And if they flourish not, a Kingdome may have good Limmes, but will have empty Veines, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them, doe seldome good to the *Kings* Revenew; For that that he winnes in the Hundred, he leeseth in the Shire; The particular Rates being in-

Their Commons and Men of War

creased, but the totall Bulke of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons;* There is little danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads; Or where you meddle, with the Point of Religion; Or their Customes, or Meanes of Life.

For their *Men of warre;* It is a dangerous State, where they live and remaine in a Body, and are used to Donatives; whereof we see Examples in the *Janizaries*, and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome:* But Traynings of Men, and Arming them in severall places, and under severall Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evill times; And which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended, in those two Remembrances: *Memento quod es Homo;* And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei:* The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

XX

Of Counsell

THE greatest Trust, betweene Man and Man, is the Trust of *Giving Counsell*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life;

Their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affaire; But to such, as they make their *Counsellours*, they commit the whole: By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes*, need not thinke it any diminution to their Greatnesse, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsell*. *God* himselfe is not without: But hath made it one of the great Names, of his blessed Sonne; *The Counsellour*. *Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsell is Stability*. Things will have their first, or second Agitation; If they be not tossed upon the Arguments of *Counsell*, they will be tossed upon the Waves of *Fortune*; And be full of Inconstancy, doing, and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. *Salomons* Sonne found the Force of *Counsell*, as his Father saw the Necessity of it. For the Beloved Kingdome of God was first rent, and broken by ill *Counsell*; Upon which *Counsell*, there are set, for our Instruction, the two Markes, whereby *Bad Counsell* is, for ever, best discerned: That it was *young Counsell*, for the Persons; And *Violent Counsell*, for the Matter.

Sovereignty married to Counsel

The Ancient Times doe set forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inseparable Conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*; And the wise and Politique use of *Counsell* by *Kings*: The one, in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsell*: Whereby they intend, that *Soveraignty* is married to *Counsell*: The other, in that which followeth, which was

The Fable of Metis

thus: They say after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, she conceived by him, and was with Childe; but *Jupiter* suffered her not to stay, till she brought forth, but eat her up; Wherby he became himselfe with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monstrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire*; How *Kings* are to make use of their *Councell* of *State*. That first, they ought to referre matters unto them, which is the first Begetting or Impregnation; But when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Wombe of their *Councell*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth; That then, they suffer not their *Councell* to goe through with the Resolution, and direction, as if it depended on them; But take the matter backe into their owne Hands, and make it appeare to the world, that the Decrees, and finall Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves: And not onely from their *Authority*, but (the more to adde Reputation to Themselves) from their *Head*, and *Device*.

Let us now speake of the *Inconveniences* of *Counsell*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniences*, that have been noted in calling, and using Counsell, are three. First, the Revealing of Affaires, whereby they become lesse *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were lesse of Themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *coun-*

sell, then of him that is *counselled*. For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practise of *France*, in some Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Counsels;* A Remedy worse then the Disease. **Inconveniences of Counsel**

As to *Secrecy; Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors;* but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should doe, should declare what he will doe. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unsecreting* of their Affaires, comes not from Themselves. And as for *Cabinet Counsels*, it may be their *Motto; Plenus rimarum sum:* One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will doe more hurt, then many, that know it their duty to conceale. It is true, there be some Affaires, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons, besides the *King:* Neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous: For besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly goe on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without distraction. But then it must be a Prudent *King*, such as is able to Grinde with a *Hand-Mill*; And those *Inward Counsellours*, had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the Kings Ends; As it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who in his greatest Businesse, imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority*; The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Majesty of Kings, is rather exalted, then diminished, when

The good Counsellor

they are in the Chaire of Counsell: Neither was there ever *Prince*, bereaved of his Dependances, by his *Counsell*; Except where there hath beene, either an Overgreatnesse in one *Counsellour*, Or an Overstrict Combination in Divers; which are Things soone found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsell with an Eye to themselves*; Certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem super terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; There be, that are in Nature, Faithfull, and Sincere, and Plaine, and Direct; Not Crafty, and Involved: Let *Princes*, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, *Counsellours* are not Commonly so united, but that one *Counsellour* keepeth Centinell over Another; So that if any do *Counsell* out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the *Kings* Eare. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellours*, as well as their *Counsellours* know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellours* should not be too Speculative, into their Soveraignes Person. The true Composition of a *Counsellour*, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters Businesse, then in his Nature; For then he is like to Advise him, and not to Feede his Humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counsell*, both Seperately, and Together. For Private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more Reverend.

In private, Men are more bold in their owne Humours; And in Consort, Men are more obnoxious to others Humours; Therefore it is good to take both: And of the inferiour Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedome; Of the greater, rather in Consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vaine for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsell* likewise concerning Persons: For all *Matters*, are as dead Images; And the Life of the Execution of Affaires, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *Secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathematicall Description*, what the Kinde and Character of the *Person* should be; For the greatest Errours are committed, and the most Judgement is shewne, in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said; *Optimi Consiliarij mortui; Books* will speake plaine, when *Counsellors* Blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; Specially the *Bookes* of such, as Themselves have been Actors upon the Stage. How to take Counsel

The *Counsels*, at this Day, in most Places, are but Familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, then debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Counsell*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; *In Nocte Consilium*. So was it done, in the Commission of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*; which was a Grave and Orderly Assembly. I commend set Daies for

Management of Councils

Petitions: For both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; And it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees, for ripening Businesse, for the *Counsell*, it is better to choose Indifferent persons, then to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing Commissions*; As for Trade; for Treasure; for Warre; for Suits; for some Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Counsels*, and but one *Counsell* of Estate, (as it is in *Spaine*) they are in effect no more, then *Standing Commissions;* Save that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to informe *Counsels*, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Seamen, Mint-men, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees;* And then, as Occasion serves, before the *Counsell*. And let them not come in Multitudes, or in a Tribunitious Manner; For that is, to clamour *Counsels*, not to enforme them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seeme Things of Forme, but are Things of Substance; For at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the Businesse: But in the other Forme, there is more use of the *Counsellours* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Counsell*, let him beware how he Opens his owne Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: For else *Counsellours* will but take the Winde of him; And in stead of giving Free Counsell, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

XXI

Of Delayes

FORTUNE is like the *Market;* Where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And againe, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front, and no hold taken:* Or at least turneth the Handle of the Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to claspe. There is surely no greater Wisedome, then well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seeme light: And more dangers have deceived Men, then forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers halfe way, though they come nothing neare, then to keepe too long a watch, upon their Approaches; For if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleepe. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadowes, (As some have beene, when the Moone was low, and shone on their Enemies backe) And so to shoot off before the time; Or to teach dangers to come on, by over early Buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripenesse, or Unripenesse, of the Occasion

The Beginnings of Actions should be well timed

In Execution use Celerity

(as we said) must ever be well weighed; And generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argos* with his hundred Eyes; And the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politicke Man goe Invisible, is, *Secrecy* in the Counsell, & *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; Like the Motion of a Bullet in the Ayre, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

XXII

Of Cunning

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisedome. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *Cunning* Man, and a *Wise* Man; Not onely in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can packe the Cards, and yet cannot play well; So there are some, that are good in Canvasses, and Factions, that are otherwise Weake Men Againe, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; For many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly Capable of the Reall Part of Businesse; Which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more than Bookes. Such Men are fitter

for Practise, then for Counsell; And they are good but in their own Alley: Turne them to New Men, and they have lost their Ayme; So as the old Rule, to know a Foole from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis;* doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of Small Wares, it is not amisse to set forth their Shop. **Cunning is inferior Wisdom**

It is a point of *Cunning*; to wait upon him, with whom you speake, with your eye; As the Jesuites give it in precept: For there be many Wise Men, that have Secret Hearts, and Transparant Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure Abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuites also doe use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtaine of present dispatch, you entertaine, and amuse the party, with whom you deale, with some other Discourse; That he be not too much awake, to make Objections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queene Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to signe, but he would alwaies first put her into some discourse of Estate, that she mought the lesse minde the Bills.

The like Surprize, may be made, by Moving things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider advisedly, of that is moved.

If a man would crosse a Businesse, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himselfe, in such sort, as may foile it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one

Divers Points of Cunning

was about to say, as if he tooke himselfe up, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you conferre, to know more.

And because it workes better, when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, then if you offer it of your selfe, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by shewing another Visage and Countenance, then you are wont; To the end, to give Occasion, for the party to aske, what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemias* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In Things, that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to breake the Ice, by some whose Words are of lesse weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the others Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In things, that a Man would not be seen in, himselfe; It is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World; As to say; *The World sayes*, Or, *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Materiall, in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would passe over that, that he intended most, and goe forth, and come backe againe, and speake of it, as of a Thing, that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they

work upon, will suddenly come upon them · And to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed : To the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter. **Divers Points of Cunning**

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Mans owne Name, which he would have another Man learne, and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretaries Place, in *Queene Elizabeths* time, and yet kept good Quarter betweene themselves ; And would conferre, one with another, upon the Businesse ; And the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a Ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it : The other, straight caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man tooke hold of it, and found Meanes, it was told the *Queene ;* Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, tooke it so ill, as she would never after heare of the others Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The Turning of the Cat in the Pan ;* which is, when that which a Man sayes to another, he laies it, as if Another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easie, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appeare, from which of them, it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glaunce and dart at Others, by Justifying themselves,

Divers Points of Cunning

by Negatives; As to say, *This I doe not:* As *Tigillinus* did towards *Burrhus; Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare.*

Some have in readinesse, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keepe themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his owne Words, and Propositions; For it makes the other Party sticke the lesse.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speake somewhat, they desire to say; And how farre about they will fetch; And how many other Matters they will beat over, to come neare it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprise a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Pauls*, Another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightwaies he looked backe.

But these Small Wares, and Petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite: And it were a good deed, to make a List of them: For that nothing doth more hurt in a State, then that *Cunning Men* passe for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Businesse, that cannot sinke into the Maine of it: Like a House, that

hath convenient Staires, and Entries, but never a faire Roome. Therfore, you shall see them finde out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no waies able to Examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the Abusing of others, and (as we now say;) *Putting Tricks upon them;* Then upon Soundnesse of their own proceedings. But *Salomon* saith; *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos: Stultus divertit ad Dolos.*

Some men skilful only in Shifts

XXIII

Of Wisedome for a Mans selfe

AN *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it Selfe; But it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Lovers* of *Themselves*, waste the Publique. Divide with reason betweene *Selfe-love*, and *Society*. And be so true to thy *Selfe*, as thou be not false to Others; Specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poore Center of a Mans Actions, *Himselfe*. It is right Earth. For that onely stands fast upon his owne Center; Whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Mans Selfe*, is more tolerable in a Soveraigne Prince; Be-

Self-Lovers make bad Servants

cause *Themselves* are not onely *Themselves;* But their Good and Evill, is at the perill of the Publique Fortune. But it is a desperate Evill in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republique. For whatsoever Affaires passe such a Mans Hands, he crooketh them to his owne Ends: Which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as have not this marke; Except they meane their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious, is, that all Proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough, for the Servants Good, to be preferred before the Masters; But yet it is a greater Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things, against a great Good of the Masters. And yet that is the case of Bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadours, Generals, and other False and Corrupt Servants; which set a Bias upon their Bowle, of their owne Petty Ends, and Envies, to the overthrow of their Masters Great and Important Affaires. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Modell of their owne Fortune; But the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Modell of their Masters Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of Extreme *Selfe-Lovers;* As they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Egges: And yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters; Because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselves:* And for either

respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affaires. **Self-Wisdom a depraved Thing**

Wisedome for a Mans Selfe, is in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the *Wisedome of Rats*, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisedome of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged & made Roome for him. It is the *Wisedome of Crocodiles*, that shed teares, when they would devoure. But that which is specially to be noted, is, that those, which (as *Cicero* saies of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Selfe-Wisedome*, to have Pinnioned.

XXIIII

Of Innovations

AS the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen: So are all *Innovations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as Those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, then most that succeed: So the first President (if it be good) is seldome attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Mans Nature, as it stands perverted, hath

Time is the greatest Innovator

a Naturall Motion, strongest in Continuance: But Good, as a Forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation;* And he that will not apply New Remedies, must expect New Evils: For Time is the greatest *Innovatour:* And if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisedome, and Counsell shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End? It is true, that what is setled by Custome, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves: Whereas New Things peece not so well; But though they helpe by their utility, yet they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers;* more Admired, and lesse Favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a Froward Retention of Custome, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innovation:* And they that Reverence too much Old Times, are but a Scorne to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time it selfe; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: For otherwise, whatsoever is New, is unlooked for; And ever it mends Some, and paires Other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; And he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States; Except the Necessity be Urgent, or the utility Evident: And well to beware, that it be the

Reformation, that draweth on the Change: And not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a Suspect: And, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then looke about us, and discover, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walke in it.*

Let Innovation be gradual and cautious

XXV

Of Dispatch

AFFECTED Dispatch, is one of the most dangerous things to Businesse that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure not *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Advancement of the Businesse. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed: So in Businesse, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of Some, onely to come off speedily, for the time; Or to contrive some false Periods of Businesse, because they may seeme *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing, to Abbreviate by Contracting, Another by Cutting off: And Businesse so handled at severall Sittings or Meetings, goeth

True and false Dispatch

commonly backward and forward, in an unsteady Manner. I knew a *Wise Man*, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner.*

On the other side, *True Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Businesse, as Money is of Wares: And Businesse is bought at a deare Hand, where there is small *dispatch.* The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, have been noted to be of Small *dispatch; Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna; Let my Death come from Spaine;* For then it will be sure to be long in comming.

Give good Hearing to those, that give the first Information in Businesse; And rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his owne Order, will goe forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, then he could have been, if he had gone on, in his owne course. But sometimes it is seene, that the Moderator is more troublesome, then the Actor.

Iterations are commonly losse of Time: But there is no such Gaine of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question:* For it chaseth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it is comming forth. Long and Curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Traine, is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wasts of Time; And though they seeme to proceed of Modesty,

they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too Materiall, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Mens Wils; For Pre-occupation of Minde, ever requireth preface of Speech; Like a Fomentation to make the unguent enter. **To choose Time is to save Time**

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch;* So as the *Distribution* be not too subtill: For he that doth not divide, will never enter well into Businesse; And he that divideth too much, will never come out of it clearely. To choose Time, is to save Time; And an Unseasonable Motion is but Beating the Ayre. There be three Parts of Businesse: The *Preparation;* The *Debate*, or *Examination;* And the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you looke for *Dispatch*, let the Middle onely be the Worke of Many, and the First and Last the Worke of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch:* For though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, then an *Indefinite;* As Ashes are more Generative then Dust.

XXVI

Of Seeming wise

IT hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme; And the *Spaniards* seeme wiser then they are. But howsoever it be

Foolish Tricks of seeming-wise Men

between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godlinesse ; Having a shew of Godlinesse, but denying the Power thereof ;* So certainly, there are in Point of Wisedome, and Sufficiency, that doe Nothing or Little, very solemnly ; *Magno conatu Nugas.* It is a Ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satyre, to Persons of Judgement, to see what shifts these Formalists have, and what Prospectives, to make *Superficies* to seeme *Body*, that hath Depth and Bulke. Some are so Close and Reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a darke Light ; And seeme alwaies to keepe backe somewhat : And when they know within themselves, they speake of that they doe not well know, would neverthelesse seeme to others, to know of that, which they may not well speake. Some helpe themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signes ; As *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Browes, up to his Forehead, and bent the other downe to his Chin ; *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso Supercilio ; Crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to beare it, by Speaking a great Word, and being peremptory ; And goe on, and take by admittance that, which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seeme to despise or make light of it, as Impertinent, or Curious ; And so would have their Ignorance seeme Judgement. Some are never without a Difference, and commonly by Amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the

matter; Of whom *A. Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutijs Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kinde also *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorne, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, Such Men in all Deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negative Side; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties: For when propositions are denied, there is an End of them; But if they be allowed, it requireth a New Worke: which false Point of Wisedome, is the Bane of Businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or Inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to uphold the Credit of their wealth, as these Empty persons have, to maintaine the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise-men* may make shift to get Opinion: But let no Man choose them for Employment; For certainly, you were better take for Businesse, a Man somewhat Absurd, then over Formall.

The Seeming-wise useless in Business

XXVII

Of Frendship

IT had beene hard for him that spake it, to have put more Truth and untruth together, in few Words, then in that Speech: *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wilde Beast,*

A Crowd is not Company

or a God. For it is most true, that a Naturall and Secret Hatred, and Aversation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the Savage Beast; But it is most Untrue, that it should have any Character, at all, of the Divine Nature; Except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Love and desire, to sequester a Mans Selfe, for a Higher Conversation: Such as is found, to have been falsely and fainedly, in some of the Heathen; as *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Sicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; And truly and really, in divers of the Ancient Hermits, and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little doe Men perceive, what *Solitude* is, and how farre it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; And Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; And Talke but a *Tinckling Cymball*, where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Civitas*, *Magna solitudo;* Because in a great Towne, *Frends* are scattered; So that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in lesse *Neighbourhoods*. But we may goe further, and affirme most truly; That it is a meere, and miserable *Solitude*, to want true *Frends;* without which the World is but a Wildernesse: And even in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is unfit for *Frendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principall *Fruit* of *Frendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulnesse and Swellings

of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds doe cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the body; And it is not much otherwise in the Minde: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver; *Steele* to open the Spleene; *Flowers* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine; But no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true *Frend;* To whom you may impart, Griefes, Joyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift or Confession.

First Fruit of Friendship: Peace in the Affections

It is a Strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, Great Kings and Monarchs, do set upon this *Fruit* of *Frendship*, wherof we speake: So great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their owne Safety, and Greatnesse. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subjects & Servants, cannot gather this *Fruit;* Except (to make Themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons, to be as it were Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to Inconvenience. The Moderne Languages give unto such Persons, the Name of *Favorites*, or *Privadoes;* As if it were Matter of Grace, or Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use, and Cause thereof; Naming them *Participes Curarum;* For it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by Weake and Passionate *Princes* onely, but by the Wisest, and most Politique that ever reigned; Who

The Friends of Princes

have oftentimes joyned to themselves, some of their Servants; Whom both Themselves have called *Frends;* And allowed Others likewise to call them in the same manner; Using the Word which is received between Private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Heigth, that *Pompey* vaunted Himselfe for *Sylla's* Overmatch. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Frend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little resent thereat, and began to speake great, *Pompey* turned upon him againe, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sunne Rising, then the Sunne setting.* With *Julius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him downe, in his Testament, for Heire in Remainder, after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when *Cæsar* would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and specially a Dreame of *Calpurnia;* This Man lifted him gently by the Arme, out of his Chaire, telling him, he hoped he would not dismisse the Senate, till his wife had dreamt a better Dreame. And it seemeth, his favour was so great, as *Antonius* in a Letter, which is recited *Verbatim*, in one of *Cirero's Philippiques*, calleth him *Venefica*, *Witch;* As if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of meane Birth) to that Heighth, as when he consulted with *Mæcenas*, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenas* tooke

the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Sejanus* had ascended to that Height, as they Two were tearmed and reckoned, as a Paire of Frends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi:* And the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to *Frendship*, as to a *Goddesse*, in respect of the great Dearenesse of *Frendship*, between them Two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus*, and *Plautianus*. For he forced his Eldest Sonne to marry the Daughter of *Plautianus;* And would often maintaine *Plautianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: And did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words; *I love the Man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.* Now if these Princes, had beene as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, A Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodnesse of Nature; But being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severitie of minde, and so Extreme Lovers of Themselves, as all these were; It proveth most plainly, that they found their owne Felicitie (though as great as ever happened to Mortall Men) but as an Halfe Peece, except they mought have a *Frend* to make it Entire: And yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wives, Sonnes, Nephews; And yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Frendship*.

The Friends of Princes

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* observeth, of his first Master *Duke Charles* the

Friendship redoubleth Joys and halveth Griefs

Hardy; Namely, that hee would communicate his Secrets with none; And least of all, those Secrets, which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, That towards his Latter time; *That closenesse did impaire, and a little perish his understanding.* Surely *Commineus* mought have made the same Judgement also, if it had pleased him, of his Second Master *Lewis* the Eleventh, whose closenesse was indeed his Tormentour. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is darke, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the Heart.* Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, Those that want *Frends* to open themselves unto, are Canniballs of their owne *Hearts.* But one Thing is most Admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit* of *frendship*) which is, that this Communicating of a Mans Selfe to his *Frend*, works two contrarie Effects; For it redoubleth *Joyes*, and cutteth *Griefes* in Halfes. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Joyes* to his *Frend*, but he *joyeth* the more; And no Man, that imparteth his *Griefes* to his *Frend*, but hee *grieveth* the lesse. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Mans Minde, of like vertue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone, for Mans Bodie; That it worketh all Contrary Effects, but still to the Good, and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinarie course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Union* strengthneth and cherisheth any Naturall Action; And, on the other side, weakneth and dulleth any

violent Impression: And even so is it of Minds.

Second Fruit of Friendship: Support of the Judgment

The second *Fruit of Frendship*, is Healthfull and Soveraigne for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Frendship* maketh indeed a *feire Day* in the *Affections*, from Storme and Tempests: But it maketh *Daylight* in the *Understanding*, out of Darknesse & Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood, onely of Faithfull Counsell, which a Man receiveth from his *Frend;* But before you come to that, certaine it is, that whosoever hath his Minde fraught, with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding doe clarifie and breake up, in the Communicating and discoursing with Another: He tosseth his Thoughts, more easily; He marshalleth them more orderly; He seeth how they looke when they are turned into Words; Finally, He waxeth wiser then Himselfe; And that more by an Houres discourse, then by a Dayes Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia; That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; Whereby the Imagery doth appeare in Figure; whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs.* Neither is this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained onely to such *Frends*, as are able to give a Man Counsell: (They indeed are best) But even, without that, a Man learneth of Himselfe, and bringeth his owne Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone, which it selfe cuts not. In a

A Man's Self his worst Flatterer

word, a Man were better relate himselfe, to a Statua, or Picture, then to suffer his Thoughts to passe in smother.

Adde now, to make this Second *Fruit* of *Frendship* compleat, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within Vulgar Observation; which is *Faithfull Counsell* from a *Frend*. *Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his Ænigmaes; *Dry Light is ever the best*. And certaine it is, that the Light, that a man receiveth, by Counsell from Another, is Drier, and purer, then that which commeth from his owne Understanding, and Judgement; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customes. So as, there is as much difference, betweene the *Counsell*, that a *Frend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himselfe, as there is between the *Counsell* of a *Frend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Mans Selfe; And there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Mans Selfe, as the Liberty of a *Frend*. *Counsell* is of two Sorts; The one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Businesse*. For the First; The best Preservative to keepe the Minde in Health, is the faithfull Admonition of a *Frend*. The Calling of a Mans Selfe, to a Strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too Piercing and Corrosive. Reading good Bookes of *Morality*, is a little Flat, and Dead. Observing our Faults in Others, is sometimes unproper for our Case. But the best Receipt (best (I say) to worke, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Frend*. It is a strange thing to

behold, what grosse Errours, and extreme Absurdities, Many (especially of the greater Sort) doe commit, for want of a *Frend*, to tell them of them; To the great dammage, both of their Fame, & Fortune. For, as *S. James* saith, they are as Men, *that looke sometimes into a Glasse, and presently forget their own Shape, & Favour.* As for *Businesse*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more then one; Or that a Gamester seeth alwaies more then a Looker on; Or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said over the foure and twenty Letters; Or that a Musket may be shot off, aswell upon the Arme, as upon a Rest; And such other fond and high Imaginations, to thinke Himselfe All in All. But when all is done, the Helpe of good *Counsell*, is that, which setteth *Businesse* straight. And if any Man thinke, that he will take *Counsell*, but it shall be by Peeces; Asking *Counsell* in one Businesse of one Man, and in another Businesse of another Man; It is well, (that is to say, better perhaps then if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: One, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; For it is a rare Thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Frend*, to have Counsell given, but such as shalbe bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have Counsell given, hurtfull, and unsafe, (though with good Meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischiefe, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you

A Friend gives faithful Counsel

Third Fruit of Friendship: Help in Action

complaine of, but is unacquainted with your body; And therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kinde; And so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Frend*, that is wholly acquainted with a Mans Estate, will beware by furthering any present *Businesse*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore, rest not upon *Scattered Counsels*; They will rather distract, and Misleade, then Settle, and Direct.

And these two Noble *Fruits of Frendship*; (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgement*,) followeth the last *Fruit*; which is like the *Pomgranat*, full of many kernels; I meane *Aid*, and *Bearing a Part*, in all *Actions*, and *Occasions*. Here, the best Way, to represent to life the manifold use of *Frendship*, is to cast and see, how many Things there are, which a Man cannot doe Himselfe; And then it will appeare, that it was a Sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Frend is another Himselfe*: For that a *Frend* is farre more then *Himselfe*. Men have their Time, and die many times in desire of some Things, which they principally take to Heart; The bestowing of a Child, The Finishing of a Worke, Or the like. If a Man have a true *Frend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those Things, will continue after Him. So that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; But where *Frendship* is, all Offices of Life, are as

it were granted to Him, and his Deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Frend*. How many Things are there, which a Man cannot, with any Face or Comelines, say or doe Himselfe? A Man can scarce alledge his owne Merits with modesty, much lesse extoll them: A man cannot sometimes brooke to Supplicate or Beg: And a number of the like. But all these Things, are Gracefull in a *Frends* Mouth, which are Blushing in a Mans Owne. So againe, a Mans Person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speake to his Sonne, but as a Father; To his Wife, but as a Husband; To his Enemy, but upon Termes: whereas a *Frend* may speak, as the Case requires, and not as it sorteth with the Person. But to enumerate these Things were endlesse: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his owne Part: If he have not a *Frend*, he may quit the Stage.

A Friend is a Second Self

XXVIII

Of Expence

RICHES are for Spending; And Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* must be limitted by the Worth of the Occasion: For *Voluntary Undoing*, may be aswell for a Mans *Country*, as for the *Kingdome of Heaven*. But *Ordinary Expence*

Of Spending and Saving

ought to be limitted by a Mans Estate; And governed with such regard, as it be within his Compasse; And not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; And ordered to the best Shew, that the Bils may be lesse, then the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be, but to the Halfe of his Receipts; And if he thinke to waxe Rich, but to the Third Part. It is no Basenesse, for the Greatest, to descend and looke, into their owne *Estate*. Some forbeare it, not upon Negligence alone, But doubting to bring Themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall finde it Broken. But Wounds cannot be Cured without Searching. He that cannot looke into his own Estate at all, had need both Choose well, those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more Timorous, and lesse Subtile. He that can looke into his Estate but seldome, it behoveth him to turne all to Certainties. A Man had need, if he be Plentifull, in some kinde of *Expence*, to be as Saving againe, in some other. As if he be Plentifull in Diet, to be Saving in Apparell: If he be Plentifull in the Hall, to be Saving in the Stable: And the like. For he that is Plentifull in *Expences* of all Kindes, will hardly be preserved from Decay. In Clearing of a Mans Estate, he may as well hurt Himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it runne on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as Disadvantageable as Interest. Besides, he that cleares at once, will relapse; For finding himselfe out of Straights,

he will revert to his Customes: But hee that cleareth by Degrees, induceth a Habite of Frugalitie, and gaineth as well upon his Minde, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repaire, may not despise small Things: And commonly, it is lesse dishonourable, to abridge pettie Charges, then to stoope to pettie Gettings. A Man ought warily to beginne Charges, which once begun will Continue: But in Matters, that returne not, he may be more Magnificent. The Repairing of an Estate

XXIX

Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates

THE Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was Haughtie and Arrogant, in taking so much to Himselfe, had been a Grave and Wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Towne, a great Citty.* These Words (holpen a little with a Metaphore) may expresse two differing Abilities, in those that deale in Businesse of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken, of Counsellours and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make a *Small State Great*, and yet cannot *Fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found

Speech of Themistocles

a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so farre from being able, to make *a Small State Great*, as their Gift lieth the other way; To bring a Great and Flourishing Estate to Ruine and Decay. And certainly, those Degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counsellours and Governours, gaine both *Favour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better Name then *Fidling*; Being Things, rather pleasing for the time, and gracefull to themselves onely, then tending to the Weale and Advancement of the State, which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellours and Governours, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotijs pares*,) Able to mannage Affaires, and to keepe them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniences; which neverthelesse, are farre from the Abilitie, to raise and Amplifie an Estate, in Power, Meanes, and Fortune. But be the worke-men what they may be, let us speake of the Worke; That is; The true *Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates*; and the *Meanes* thereof. An Argument, fit for Great and Mightie Princes, to have in their hand; To the end, that neither by Over-measuring their Forces, they leese themselves in vaine Enterprises; Nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to Fearefull and Pusillanimous Counsells.

The *Greatnesse* of an Estate in Bulke and Territorie, doth fall under Measure; And the *Greatnesse* of Finances and Revenew doth fall under Computation. The Population may ap-

peare by Musters: And the Number and Greatnesse of Cities and Townes, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any Thing amongst Civill Affaires, more subject to Errour, then the right valuation, and true Judgement, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdome* of *Heaven* is compared, not to any great Kernell or Nut, but to a *Graine* of *Mustard-seed;* which is one of the least Graines, but hath in it a Propertie and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territorie, and yet not apt to Enlarge, or Command; And some, that have but a small Dimension of Stemme, and yet apt to be the Foundations of Great Monarchies. What makes a great State

Walled Townes, Stored Arcenalls and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of Warre, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions Skin, except the Breed and disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay Number (it selfe) in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weake Courage: For (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolfe, how many the sheepe be.* The Armie of the *Persians*, in the Plaines of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexanders* Armie; Who came to him therefore, and wisht him, to set upon them by Night; But hee answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was Easie. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being incamped upon a Hill, with 40000. Men, discovered the Armie of the

A Breed of valiant Soldiers

Romans, being not above 14000. Marching towards him, he made himselfe Merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sunne sett, he found them enough, to give him the Chace, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the Examples, of the great oddes between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Judgement; That the Principal Point of *Greatnesse* in any *State*, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinewes of Warre, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinewes of Mens Armes, in Base and Effeminate People, are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus* (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold) *Sir, if any Other come, that hath better Iron then you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therfore let any Prince or State, thinke soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives, be of good and Valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subjects of Martiall disposition, know their owne Strength; unlesse they be otherwise wanting unto Themselves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Helpe in this Case) all Examples shew; That, whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them; *Hee may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after.*

The *Blessing* of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet; *That the same People or Nation, should be both The Lions whelpe, and the Asse betweene Burthens:* Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, should ever

become Valiant, and Martiall. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the Estate, doe abate Mens Courage lesse; As it hath beene seene notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries;* And in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England.* For you must note, that we speake now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it workes diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude; *That no People over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Taxes abate Courage

Let States that aime at *Greatnesse*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen*, doe multiply too fast. For that maketh the Common Subject, grow to be a Peasant, and Base Swaine, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentlemans* Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods; *If you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have cleane Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base; And you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll, will be fit for an Helmet: Especially as to the *Infantery*, which is the Nerve of an Army: And so there will be Great Population, and Little Strength. This, which I speake of, hath been no where better seen, then by comparing of *England* and *France;* whereof *England*, though farre lesse in Territory and Population, hath been (neverthelesse) an Overmatch; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England*, make good Souldiers, which the *Peasants*

The Yeomanry of England

of *France* doe not. And herein, the device of King *Henry* the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was Profound, and Admirable; In making Farmes, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a Subject, to live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; And to keepe the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not meere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attaine to *Virgils* Character, which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

—Terra potens Armis atque ubere Glebæ.

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over; I meane the State of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*; which are no waies inferiour, unto the *Yeomanry*, for Armes. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, received into Custome, doth much conduce, unto *Martiall Greatnesse*. Whereas, contrariwise, the Close and Reserved living, of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all meanes, it is to be procured, that the *Trunck* of *Nebuchadnezzars* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough, to beare the Branches, and the Boughes; That is, That the *Naturall Subjects* of the Crowne or State, beare a sufficient Pro-

portion, to the *Stranger Subjects*, that they governe. Therfore all States, that are liberall of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to thinke, that an Handfull of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will faile suddainly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their Compasse, they stood firme; But when they did spread, and their Boughs were becommen too great, for their Stem, they became a Windfall upon the suddaine. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive *Strangers*, into their Body, as were the *Romans*. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; For they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree; That is, Not onely *Jus Commercij*, *Jus Connubij*, *Jus Hæreditatis*; But also, *Jus Suffragij*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to Singular Persons alone, but likewise to whole Families; yea to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Adde to this, their Custome of *Plantation* of *Colonies*; whereby the Roman Plant, was removed into the Soile, of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spred upon the *World*; But it was the *World*, that spred upon the *Romans*: And that was the sure Way of *Greatnesse*. I have marveiled sometimes at *Spaine*, how they claspe and containe so large

Naturalization to be granted liberally

Arts to be left to Strangers

Dominions, with so few Naturall *Spaniards:* But sure, the whole Compasse of *Spaine*, is a very Great Body of a Tree; Farre above *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage, to Naturalize liberally; yet they have that, which is next to it; That is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers:* yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmaticall Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certaine, that *Sedentary*, and *Within-doore Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, then the Arme) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military disposition. And generally, all Warlike People, are a little idle; And love Danger better then Travaile: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Advantage, in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which commeth nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to containe, the principall Bulke of the vulgar Natives, within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground; *Free Servants;* & *Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, & Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c; Not reckoning Professed Souldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatnesse*, it importeth most; That a Nation doe professe Armes, as their principall Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Armes: And what is *Habilitation* without *Intention* and *Act?* *Romulus*, after his death (as they report, or faigne) sent a Present to the *Romans;* That, above all, they should intend Armes; And then, they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta*, was wholly (though not wisely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others, had it for a Time. The *Turks* have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are, in effect, onely the *Spaniards*. But it is so plaine, *That every Man profiteth in that hee most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; That no Nation, which doth not directly professe Armes, may looke to have *Greatnesse* fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most Certaine Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders. And those, that have professed Armes but for an Age, have notwithstanding, commonly, attained that *Greatnesse* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Armes hath growen to decay.

Arms to be the principal Study

Just Causes of War

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to have those Lawes or Customes, which may reach forth unto them, just Occasions (as may be pretended) of Warre. For there is that Justice imprinted, in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so many Calamities doe ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarells. The *Turke*, hath at hand, for Cause of Warre, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; A Quarell that he may alwaies Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed, the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be great Honour to their Generalls, when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to *Greatnesse*, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politique Ministers; And that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be prest, and ready, to give Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it ever was with the *Romans:* In so much, as if the Confederate, had Leagues Defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aides severally, yet the *Romans* would ever bee the formost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Warres, which were anciently made, on the behalfe, of a kinde of Partie, or tacite Conformitie of Estate, I doe not see how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a Warre for the Libertie of *Grecia:* Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Warres, to set up or pull

downe *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies*: Or when Warres were made by Forrainers, under the pretence of Justice, or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others, from Tyrannie, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, That no Estate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

War is healthful to the Body-politic

No Body can be healthfull without *Exercise*, neither Naturall Body, nor Politique: And certainly, to a Kingdome or Estate, a Just and Honourable Warre, is the true *Exercise*. A Civill Warre, indeed, is like the Heat of a Feaver; But a Forraine Warre, is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keepe the Body in Health: For in a Slothfull Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happinesse, without all Question, for *Greatnesse*, it maketh, to bee still, for the most Part, in Armes: And the Strength of a Veteran Armie, (though it be a chargeable Businesse) alwaies on Foot, is that, which commonly giveth the Law; Or at least the Reputation amongst all Neighbour States; As may well bee seene in *Spaine*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Armie, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score yeeres.

To be Master of the *Sea*, is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeij planè Themistocleum est; Putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if upon vaine Confidence, he had not left that

Command of the Seas

Way. We see the great Effects of Battailes by *Sea*. The Battaile of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battaile of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatnesse of the *Turke*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* have beene Finall to the warre; But this is, when Princes or States, have set up their Rest, upon the Battailes. But thus much is certaine; That hee that Commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the Warre, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by land, are many times neverthelesse in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea* (which is one of the Principall Dowries of this Kingdome of *Great Brittaine*) is Great: Both because, Most of the Kingdomes of *Europe*, are not meerely Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compasse; And because, the Wealth of both *Indies*, seemes in great Part, but an Accessary, to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Warres* of *Latter Ages*, seeme to be made in the Darke, in Respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon Men, from the *Warres* in *Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martiall Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry; which neverthelesse, are conferred promiscuously, upon Soldiers, & no Soldiers; And some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion; And some Hospitals for Maimed Soldiers; And such like Things. But in Ancient Times; The *Trophies* erected upon the Place of the Victory; The Funerall Lauda-

tives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars; The Crowns and Garlands Personal; The Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed; The Triumphes of the Generalls upon their Returne; The great Donatives and Largesses upon the Disbanding of the Armies; were Things able to enflame all Mens Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gauderie, but one of the Wisest and Noblest Institutions, that ever was. For it contained three Things; Honour to the Generall; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoiles; And Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies;* Except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himselfe, or his Sonnes; As it came to passe, in the Times of the *Roman Emperours*, who did impropriate the Actuall Triumphs to Themselves, and their Sonnes, for such Wars, as they did atchieve in Person: And left onely, for Wars atchieved by Subjects, some Triumphall Garments, and Ensignes, to the Generall. **Military Honours**

To conclude; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *adde a Cubite to his Stature;* in this little Modell of a *Mans Body:* But in the Great Frame of *Kingdomes*, & *Common Wealths*, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to adde Amplitude and *Greatnesse* to their *Kingdomes*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customes, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatnesse*, to their Posteritie, and Succession. But

A Man's own Observation the best Physic

these Things are commonly not Observed, but left to take their Chance.

XXX

Of Regiment of Health

THERE is a wisdome in this, beyond the Rules of *Physicke:* A Mans owne Observation, what he findes Good of, and what he findes Hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* Then this; *I finde no offence of this, therefore I may use it.* For Strength of Nature in youth, passeth over many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discerne of the comming on of Yeares, and thinke not, to doe the same Things still; For Age will not be Defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; That it is safer to change Many Things, then one. Examine thy Customes, of Diet, Sleepe, Exercise, Apparell, and the like; And trie in any Thing, thou shalt judge hurtfull, to discontinue it by little and little; But so, as if thou doest finde any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come backe to it againe: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is

good particularly, and fit for thine owne Body. To be free minded, and cheerefully disposed, at Houres of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Minde; Avoid Envie; Anxious Feares; Anger fretting inwards; Subtill and knottie Inquisitions; Joyes, and Exhilarations in Excesse; Sadnesse not Communicated. Entertaine Hopes; Mirth rather then Joy; Varietie of Delights, rather then Surfet of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Minde with Splendide and Illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you flie Physicke in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will worke no Extraordinary Effect, when Sicknesse commeth. I commend rather, some Diet, for certaine Seasons, then frequent Use of *Physicke*, Except it be growen into a Custome. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it lesse. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but aske Opinion of it. In *Sicknesse*, respect *Health* principally; And in *Health*, *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withall; when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; That a Man doe vary, and enterchange Contraries; But with an Inclination to the more

Natural Rules for Health

How to choose your Physician

benigne Extreme: Use Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise; and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humor of the Patient, as they presse not the true Cure of the Disease; And some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; Or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

XXXI

Of Suspicion

SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded: For they cloud the Minde; they leese Frends; and they checke with Businesse, whereby Businesse cannot goe on, currantly, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousie, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Braine; For they take

Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England:* There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout. And in such a Composition, they doe small Hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearefull Natures, they gaine Ground too fast. There is Nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more then to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspicions* in Smother. What would Men have? Doe they thinke, those they employ and deale with, are Saints? Doe they not thinke, they will have their owne Ends, and be truer to Themselves, then to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspicions*, then to account upon such *Suspicions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so farre, a Man ought to make use of *Suspicions*, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may doe him no Hurt. *Suspicions*, that the Minde, of it selfe, gathers, are but Buzzes; But *Suspicions*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Mens Heads, by the Tales, and Whisprings of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Meane, to cleare the Way, in this same Wood of *Suspicions*, is franckly to communicate them, with the Partie, that he *Suspects:* For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, then he did before; And withall, shall make that Party, more circumspect, not to give further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not

Suspicions should be kept in Check

An Italian Proverb

be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they finde themselves once suspected, will never be true. The *Italian* saies: *Sospetto licentia fede:* As if *Suspicion* did give a Pasport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge it selfe.

XXXII

Of Discourse

SOME in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, then of Judgment, in discerning what is True: As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certaine Common Places, and Theames, wherein they are good, and want Variety: Which kinde of Poverty is for the most part Tedious, and when it is once perceived Ridiculous. The Honourablest Part of Talke, is to give the Occasion; And againe to Moderate and passe to somewhat else; For then a Man leads the Daunce. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and entermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and, as we say now, to Jade, any Thing too farre. As for Jest, there be certaine Things, which

ought to be priviledged from it; Namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, Any Mans present Businesse of Importance, And any Case that deserveth Pitty. Yet there be some, that thinke their Wits have been asleepe; Except they dart out somewhat, that is Piquant, and to the Quicke: That is a Vaine, which would be brideled; **Directions for Talk and Discourse**

Parce Puer stimulis, & fortiùs utere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to finde the difference, between Saltnesse and Bitternesse. Certainly, he that hath a Satyricall vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learne much, and content much; But especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion, to please themselves in Speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions, not be troublesome; For that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turnes to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would raigne, and take up all the time, let him finde meanes to take them off, and to bring Others on; As Musicians use to doe, with those, that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know; you shall be thought another time, to know that, you know not. Speach of a Mans Selfe ought to be seldome, and well chosen. I knew One,

Discretion of Speech is more than Eloquence

was wont to say, in Scorne; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speakes so much of Himselfe:* And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may Commend Himselfe, with good Grace; And that is in commending Vertue in Another; Especially, if it be such a Vertue, whereunto Himselfe pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards Others, should be sparingly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without comming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen*, of the West Part of *England;* Whereof the one was given to Scoffe, but kept ever Royal Cheere in his House: The other, would aske of those, that had beene at the Others Table; *Tell truely, was there never a Flout or drie Blow given;* To which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed:* The Lord would say; *I thought he would marre a good Dinner. Discretion* of *Speech*, is more then *Eloquence;* And to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deale, is more then to speake in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slownesse: And a Good Reply, or Second Speech, without a good Setled Speech, sheweth Shallownesse and Weaknesse. As we see in Beasts, that those that are Weakest in the Course, are yet Nimblest in the Turne: As it is betwixt the Grey-hound, & the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is Wearisome; To use none at all, is Blunt.

XXXIII

Of Plantations

Rules for Colonizing

PLANTATIONS are amongst Ancient, Primitive, and Heroicall Workes. When the World was young, it begate more Children; But now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new *Plantations*, to be the Children of former Kingdomes. I like a *Plantation* in a Pure Soile; that is, where People are not *Displanted*, to the end, to *Plant* in Others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation, then a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries, is like *Planting* of Woods; For you must make account, to leese almost Twenty yeeres Profit, and expect your Recompence, in the end. For the Principall Thing, that hath beene the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath beene the Base, and Hastie drawing of Profit, in the first Yeeres. It is true, Speedie Profit is not to be neglected, as farre as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a Shamefull and Unblessed Thing, to take the Scumme of People, and Wicked Condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant:* And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation;* For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to worke, but be Lazie, and doe Mischiefe, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then Certifie over to their Country, to the Discredit of the *Plantation*.

Natural Products

The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fisher-men, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cookes, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first looke about, what kinde of Victuall, the Countrie yeelds of it selfe, to Hand: As Chestnuts, Wall-nuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plummes, Cherries, Wilde-Hony, and the like: and make use of them. Then consider, what Victuall or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the yeere; As Parsnips, Carrets, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Artichokes of Hierusalem, Maiz, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they aske too much Labour: But with Pease, and Beanes, you may begin; Both because they aske lesse Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise commeth a great Encrease, and it is a kinde of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Bisket, Oat-meale, Flower, Meale, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such, as are least Subject to Diseases, and Multiply fastest: As Swine, Goats, Cockes, Hennes, Turkies, Geese, House-doves, and the like. The Victuall in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a Besieged Towne; That is, with certaine Allowance. And let the Maine Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corne, bee to a Common Stocke; And to be Laid in, and Stored up, and then Delivered out in Proportion; Besides some Spots of Ground, that any

Particular Person, will Manure, for his owne Private. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soile, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yeeld, that they may some way helpe to defray the Charge of the *Plantation:* So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice, of the maine Businesse; As it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; And therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ure, and Streames whereupon to set the Milles; Iron is a brave Commoditie, where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in Experience. Growing Silke likewise, if any be, is a likely Commoditie. Pitch and Tarre, where store of Firres and Pines are, will not faile. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yeeld great Profit. Soape Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moile not too much under Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very Uncertaine, and useth to make the *Planters* Lazie, in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsell: And let them have Commission, to exercise Martiall Lawes, with some limitation. And above all, let Men make that Profit of being in the Wildernesse, as they have God alwaies, and his Service, before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation*, depend upon too many Counsellours, and Undertakers, in the Countrie that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate Number: And let those be, rather Noble-

Government of the Colony

How to treat the Natives

men, and Gentlemen, then Merchants: For they looke ever to the present Gaine. Let there be Freedomes from Custome, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedome from Custome, but Freedome to carrie their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some speciall Cause of Caution. Cramme not in People, by sending too fast, Company, after Company; But rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; But so, as the Number may live well, in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath beene a great Endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the Streames, then along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in their Victualls, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where Savages are, doe not onely entertaine them with Trifles, and Gingles; But use them justly, and gratiously, with sufficient Guard neverthelesse: And doe not winne their favour, by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amisse. And send oft of them, over to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition then their owne, and commend it when they returne. When the *Plantation* grows to Strength, then it is time, to *Plant* with

Women, as well as with Men; That the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever peeced from without. It is the sinfullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardnesse: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltinesse of Bloud, of many Commiserable Persons.

It is sinful to forsake a Colony once planted

XXXIIII

Of Riches

I CANNOT call *Riches* better, then the Baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be spared, nor left behinde, but it hindreth the March; Yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches*, there is no Reall Use, except it be in the Distribution; The rest is but Conceit. So saith *Salomon; Where much is, there are Many to consume it; And what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes?* The Personall Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feele Great *Riches:* There is a Custody of them; Or a Power of Dole and Donative of them; Or a Fame of them; But no Solid Use to the Owner. Doe you not see, what fained Prices, are set upon little Stones, and Rarities? And what Works of Ostentation, are undertaken, because there might seeme to be, some Use of

Great Riches a doubtful Boon

great *Riches?* But then you will say, they may be of use, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not alwaies in *Fact.* For certainly Great *Riches*, have sold more Men, then they have bought out. Seeke not Proud *Riches*, but such as thou maist get justly, Use soberly, Distribute cheerefully, and Leave contentedly. Yet have no Abstract nor Friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus; In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiæ Prædam, sed Instrumentum Bonitati, quæri.* Hearken also to *Salomon*, and beware of Hasty Gathering of *Riches: Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons.* The Poets faigne that when *Plutus*, (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps, and goes slowly; But when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runnes, and is Swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by Good Meanes, and Just Labour, pace slowly; But when they come by the death of Others, (As by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it mought be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devill. For when *Riches* come from the Devill, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust Meanes,) they come upon Speed. The *Waies to enrich* are many, and most of them Foule. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not Innocent: For it with-holdeth Men, from Workes of Liberality, and Cha-

rity. The *Improvement of the Ground*, is the most Naturall Obtaining of *Riches*; For it is our Great Mothers Blessing, the Earths; But it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, doe stoope to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: A Great Grasier, A Great Sheepe-Master, A Great Timber Man, A Great Colliar, A Great Corne-Master, A Great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the Perpetuall Importation. It was truly observed by One, that Himselfe came very hardly to a Little *Riches*, and very easily to Great *Riches*. For when a Mans Stocke is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargaines, which for their greatnesse are few Mens Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but encrease mainely. The *Gaines* of *Ordinary Trades* and *Vocations*, are honest; And furthered by two Things, chiefly: By Diligence; And By a good Name, for good and faire dealing. But the *Gaines* of *Bargaines*, are of a more doubtfull Nature; When Men shall waite upon Others Necessity, broake by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, Put off Others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practises, which are Crafty and Naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargaines*, when a Man Buies, not to Hold, but to Sell over againe, that commonly Grindeth

Ways to get Wealth

Ways to get Wealth

double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. *Sharings*, doe greatly *Enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest Meanes of Gaine, though one of the worst; As that, whereby a Man doth eate his Bread; *In sudore vultûs alieni:* And besides, doth Plough upon Sundaies. But yet Certaine though it be, it hath Flawes; For that the Scriveners and Broakers, doe valew unsound Men, to serve their own Turne. The *Fortune*, in being the First in an *Invention*, or in a *Priviledge*, doth cause sometimes a wonderfull Overgrowth in *Riches;* As it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries:* Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgement, as Invention, he may do great Matters; especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gaines Certaine*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches:* And he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times breake, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may uphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great Meanes to enrich; especially, if the Partie have intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store Himselfe before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, Feeding Humours, and other Servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*; *Testamenta et Orbos*,

tanquàm Indagine capi ;) It is yet worse ; By how much Men submit themselves, to Meaner Persons, then in *Service*. Beleeve not much them, that seeme to despise *Riches :* For they despise them, that despaire of them ; And none Worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise ; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they Fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set Flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches*, either to their Kindred ; Or to the Publique : And moderate Portions prosper best in both. A great State left to an Heire, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey, round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Yeares and Judgement. Likewise Glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt ;* And but the *Painted Sepulchres of Almes*, which soone will putrifie, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure ; and Deferre not Charities till Death : For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather Liberall of an Other Mans, then of his Owne.

Of Bequests and Charities

XXXV

Of Prophecies

I MEANE not to speake of *Divine Prophecies ;* Nor of Heathen Oracles ; Nor of Naturall Predictions ; But only of *Prophecies*,

Ancient Prophecies

that have beene of certaine Memory, and from Hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythonissa* to *Saul*; *To Morrow thou and thy sonne shall be with me.* *Homer* hath these Verses.

At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis:

A Prophecie, as it seemes, of the *Roman Empire.* *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath these Verses.

——— *Venient Annis*
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula Rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat Orbes; nec sit Terris
Ultima Thule:

A *Prophecie* of the Discovery of *America.* The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* annointed him: And it came to passe, that he was crucified in an Open Place, where the Sunne made his Bodie runne with Sweat, and the Raine washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, He sealed up his Wives Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Childe, because Men doe not use to Seale Vessells that are emptie. A Phantasme, that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterùm me videbis.* *Tiberius* said to *Galba: Tu quoque Galba degustabis Imperium.* In *Vespasians* Time, there went a *Prophecie* in

the East; That those that should come forth of *Judea*, should reigne over the World: which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he was slaine, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Necke: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many yeares, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixt of *England*, said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enjoy the Crowne, for which we strive.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one Dr. *Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was given to Curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husbands Nativitie, to be Calculated, under a false Name; And the Astrologer gave a Judgement, that he should be killed in a Duell; At which the Queene laughed, thinking her Husband, to be above Challenges and Duels: but he was slaine, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staffe of *Mongomery*, going in at his Bever. The triviall *Prophecie*, which I heard, when I was a Childe, and *Queene Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Yeares, was; **Modern Instances**

When Hempe is sponne;
England's done.

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the *Princes* had Reigned, which had the Principiall *Letters*, of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*) *England* should come to utter Confusion: Which, thankes be to God, is verified only, in the

A Prophecy of 1588

Change of the Name: For that the Kings Stile, is now no more of *England*, but of *Britaine*. There was also another *Prophecie*, before the year of 88. which I doe not well understand.

There shall be seene upon a day,
Betweene the Baugh, and the May,
The Blacke Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone
For after Warres shall you have None.

It was generally conceived, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the *King* of *Spaines* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*;

Octogessimus octavus mirabilis Annus;

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the Sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swamme upon the Sea. As for *Cleons* Dreame, I thinke it was a Jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon; And it was expounded of a Maker of Sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are Numbers of the like kinde; Especially if you include *Dreames*, and *Predictions* of *Astrologie*. But I have set downe these few onely of certaine Credit, for Example. My Judgement is, that they ought all to be *Despised*; And ought to serve, but for Winter Talke, by the Fire side. Though when I say *Despised*, I meane it as for Beleefe: For otherwise, the Spreading or Publishing of them,

is in no sort to be *Despised*. For they have done much Mischiefe: And I see many severe Lawes made to suppresse them. That, that hath given them Grace, and some Credit, consisteth in three Things. First, that Men marke, when they hit, and never marke, when they misse: As they doe, generally, also of *Dreames*. The second is, that Probable Conjectures, or obscure Traditions, many times, turne themselves into *Prophecies:* While the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinkes it no Perill to foretell that, which indeed they doe but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlanticke; which mought be Probably conceived, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it mought encourage One, to turne it to a *Prediction*. The third, and Last (which is the Great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have beene Impostures, and by idle and craftie Braines, meerely contrived and faigned, after the Event Past.

Why Prophecies win Credit

XXXVI

Of Ambition

AMBITION is like *Choler;* Which is an Humour, that maketh Men Active, Earnest, Full of Alacritie, and Stirring, if it be not

How to use ambitious Men

stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his Way, it becommeth Adust, and thereby Maligne and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they finde the way Open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather Busie then Dangerous; But if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke upon Men and matters, with an Evill Eye; And are best pleased, when Things goe backward; Which is the worst Propertie, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still Progressive, and not Retrograde: Which because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessitie, it is fit we speake, in what Cases, they are of necessitie. Good Commanders in the Warres, must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*: For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; And to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurres. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreenes to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envie: For no Man will take that Part, except he be like a Seel'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of *Ambitious Men*, in Pulling downe the Greatnesse, of any Subject that over-tops: As *Tiberius*

used *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speake, how they are to be brideled, that they may be lesse *dangerous*. There is lesse *danger* of them, if they be of Meane Birth, then if they be Noble: And if they be rather Harsh of Nature, then Gracious and Popular: And if they be rather New Raised, then growne Cunning, and Fortified in their Greatnesse. It is counted by some, a weaknesse in Princes, to have *Favorites*: But it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*. For when the Way of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite*, it is Impossible, Any Other should be *Over-great*. Another meanes to curbe them, is to Ballance them by others, as Proud as they. But then, there must be some Middle Counsellours, to keep Things steady: For without that Ballast, the Ship will roule too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some Meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of them Obnoxious to Ruine, if they be of fearefull Natures, it may doe well: But if they bee Stout, and Daring, it may precipitate their Designes, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them downe, if the Affaires require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddainly, the onely Way is, the Enterchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces; whereby they may not know, what to expect; And be, as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is lesse

How to curb and bridle them

Honour may be sought honestly

harmefull, the *Ambition* to prevaile in great Things, then that other, to appeare in every thing; For that breeds Confusion, and marres Businesse. But yet, it is lesse danger, to have an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Businesse, then Great in Dependances. He that seeketh to be Eminent amongst Able Men, hath a great Taske; but that is ever good for the Publique. But he that plots, to be the onely Figure amongst Ciphars, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it: The Vantage Ground to doe good: The Approach to Kings, and principall Persons: And the Raising of a Mans owne Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions, when he aspireth, is an Honest Man: And that Prince, that can discerne of these Intentions, in Another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States, choose such Ministers, as are more sensible of Duty, then of Rising; And such as love Businesse rather upon Conscience, then upon Bravery: And let them Discerne a Busie Nature, from a Willing Minde.

XXXVII

Of Masques and Triumphs

THESE Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is

better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme Good Grace: I say *Acting*, not *Dancing* (For that is a Meane and Vulgar Thing;) And the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be Strong and Manly, (A Base, and a Tenour; No Treble;) and the *Ditty* High and Tragicall; Not nice or Dainty. *Severall Quires*, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Antheme* wise, give great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set downe, are such, as doe naturally take the Sense, and not respect Petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure: For they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *Coloured* and *Varied:* And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some Motions, upon the *Scene* it selfe, before their Comming down: For it drawes the Eye strangely, & makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discerne. Let the *Songs* be *Loud*, and *Cheerefull*, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musicke* likewise, be *Sharpe*, and *Loud*, and

Directions for Masques

Of Anti-Masques

Well Placed. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; And *Oes*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not Discerned. Let the *Sutes* of the *Masquers*, be Gracefull, and such as become the Person, when the Vizars are off: Not after Examples of Knowne Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masques* not be long; They have been commonly of Fooles, Satyres, Baboones, Wilde-Men, Antiques, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nimphs, Rusticks, Cupids, Statua's Moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comicall enough, to put them in *Anti-Masques;* And any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musicke* of them, be Recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heat, Things of great Pleasure; & Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety. But All is Nothing, except the *Roome* be kept Cleare, and Neat.

For *Justs*, and *Tourneys*, and *Barriers;* The Glories of them, are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; Especially if they be drawne with Strange Beasts; As Lions, Beares, Cammels, and the like: Or in the Devices of their Entrance; Or

in the Bravery of their Liveries; Or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses, and Armour. But enough of these Toyes.

A Man's Nature subdued only by Habit

XXXVIII

Of Nature in Men

NATURE is Often Hidden; Sometimes Overcome; Seldome Extinguished. Force maketh Nature more violent in the Returne: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* lesse Importune: But Custome onely doth alter and subdue *Nature*. Hee that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set Himselfe too great, nor too small Tasks: For the first, will make him dejected by often Faylings: And the Second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers doe with Bladders, or Rushes: But after a Time, let him practise with disadvantages, as Dancers doe with thick Shooes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practise be harder then the use. Where *Nature* is Mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be; First to Stay and Arrest *Nature* in Time; Like to Him, that would say over the Foure and Twenty Letters, when he was Angry: Then to Goe lesse in Quantity; As if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from Drinking Healths, to a Draught at a

Rules for subduing Nature

Meale: And lastly, to Discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise Himselfe at once, that is the best;

Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amisse, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a Contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right: Understanding it, where the Contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himselfe, with a Perpetuall Continuance, but with some Intermission. For both the Pause, reinforceth the new Onset; And if a Man, that is not perfect, be ever in Practise, he shall as well practise his Errours, as his Abilities; And induce one Habite of both: And there is no Meanes to helpe this, but by Seasonable Intermissions. But let not a Man trust his Victorie over his *Nature* too farre; For *Nature* will lay buried a great Time, and yet revive, upon the Occasion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æsopes Damosell*, turned from a Catt to a Woman; who sate very demurely, at the Boards End, till a Mouse ranne before her. Therefore let a Man, either avoid the Occasion altogether; Or put Himselfe often to it, that hee may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is best perceived in Privatenesse, for there is no Affectation; In Passion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; And in a new Case or Experiment, for there Custome leaveth him. They are happie Men, whose *Natures* sort with their

Vocations; Otherwise they may say, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea:* when they converse in those Things, they doe not Affect. In Studies, whatsoever a Man commandeth upon himselfe, let him set Houres for it: But whatsoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any set Times: For his Thoughts, will flie to it of Themselves; So as the Spaces of other Businesse, or Studies, will suffice. A Mans *Nature* runnes either to Herbes, or Weeds; Therefore let him seasonably Water the One, and Destroy the Other. **Of Nature and Vocation**

XXXIX

Of Custome and Education

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination: Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and Infused Opinions; But their Deeds are after as they have beene *Accustomed.* And therefore, as *Macciavel* well noteth (though in an evill favoured Instance) There is no Trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words; Except it be Corroborate by *Custome.* His Instance is, that for the Atchieving of a desperate Conspiracie, a Man should not rest upon the Fiercenesse of any mans Nature, or his Resolute Undertakings; But take such an one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Bloud. But

The Reign of Custom

Macciavel knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor a *Jaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard:* yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as *Custome*. Onely Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Bloud, are as Firme, as Butchers by Occupation: And votary Resolution is made Equipollent to *Custome*, even in matter of Bloud. In other Things, the Predominancy of *Custome* is every where Visible; In so much, as a Man would wonder, to heare Men Professe, Protest, Engage, Give Great Words, and then Doe just as they have Done before: As if they were Dead Images, and Engines moved onely by the wheeles of *Custome*. We see also the Raigne or Tyrannie of *Custome*, what it is. The *Indians* (I meane the Sect of their Wise Men) lay Themselves quietly upon a Stacke of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of Ancient Time, were wont to be Scourged upon the Altar of *Diana*, without so much as Quecking. I remember in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeths* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebell* Condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputie*, that he might be hanged in a With, and not in an Halter, because it had beene so used, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monkes* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessell of Water, till they be Ingaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custome*, both upon Minde, and Body.

Therefore, since Custome is the Principall Magistrate of Mans life; Let Men by all Meanes endevour, to obtaine good *Customes*. Certainly, *Custome* is most perfect, when it beginneth in Young Yeares: This we call *Education;* which is, in effect, but an *Early Custome*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activitie, and Motions, in Youth then afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Plie; Except it be in some Mindes, that have not suffered themselves to fixe, but have kept themselves open and prepared, to receive continuall Amendment, which is exceeding Rare. But if the Force of *Custome* Simple and Separate, be Great; the Force of *Custome* Copulate, and Conjoyned, & Collegiate, is far Greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth; Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custome* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Vertues upon Humane Nature, resteth upon Societies well Ordained, and Disciplined. For Commonwealths, and Good Governments, doe nourish Vertue Growne, but doe not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most Effectuall Meanes, are now applied, to the Ends, least to be desired.

Early Custom is best

XL

Of Fortune

A Man moulds his own Fortune

IT cannot be denied, but Outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune:* Favour, Opportunitie, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Vertue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Mans *Fortune*, is in his owne hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ;* saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of Externall Causes is, that the Folly of one Man, is the *Fortune* of Another. For no Man prospers so suddenly, as by Others Errours. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt, and Apparent vertues bring forth Praise; But there be Secret and Hidden Vertues, that bring Forth *Fortune.* Certaine Deliveries of a Mans Selfe, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them: When there be not Stonds, nor Restivenesse in a Mans Nature; But that the wheeles of his Minde keepe way, with the wheeles of his *Fortune.* For so *Livie* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these words; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturus videretur;*) falleth upon that, that he had, *Versatile Ingenium.* Therfore, if a Man looke Sharply, and Attentively, he shall see *Fortune:* For though shee be Blinde, yet shee is not Invisible. The Way of *Fortune*, is like the *Milken Way* in the

Skie; Which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of Small Stars; Not Seene asunder, but Giving Light together. So are there, a Number of Little, and scarce discerned Vertues, or rather Faculties and Customes, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little thinke. When they speake of one, that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties; Then to have a *Little* of the *Foole;* And not *Too Much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, Extreme Lovers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without Himselfe, he goeth not his owne Way. An hastie *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover, (The *French* hath it better; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*) But the Exercised *Fortune* maketh the Able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured, and Respected, and it bee but for her Daughters, *Confidence*, and *Reputation*. For those two Felicitie breedeth: The first within a Mans Selfe; the Latter, in Others towards Him. All Wise Men, to decline the Envy of their owne vertues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune;* For so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatnesse in a Man, to be the Care, of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, & Fortunam ejus*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath beene noted, that those, that ascribe openly

Fortunate Properties

Fortune demands our Homage

too much to their owne Wisdome, and Policie, end *Infortunate*. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part;* never prospered in any Thing he undertooke afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homers Verses*, that have a Slide, and Easinesse, more then the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleons Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agesilaus*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Mans Selfe.

XLI

Of Usurie

MANY have made Wittie Invectives against *Usurie*. They say, that it is Pitie, the Devill should have Gods part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the *Usurer* is the *Droane*, that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the First Law, that was made for Mankinde, after the Fall; which was, *In sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum;* Not, *In sudore Vultûs alieni.* That

Usurers should have Orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe *Judaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money;* And the like. I say this onely, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis:* For since there must be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others have made Suspicious, and Cunning Propositions, of Bankes, Discovery of Mens Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury;* That the Good may be, either Weighed out, or Culled out: And warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse. **Incommodities of Usury**

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this Lazie Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be Imployed upon Merchandizing; Which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes Poore Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; And that is, the Decay of Customes of Kings or States, which Ebbe or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realme or State, into a few Hands. For the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at

Commodities of Usury

Uncertainties, at the end of the Game; Most of the Money will be in the Boxe; And ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats downe the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money, is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; And *Usury* Waylayes both. The Sixth, that it doth Dull and Dampe all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherin Money would be Stirring, if it were not for this Slugge. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruine of many Mens Estates; Which in processe of Time breeds a Publike Povertie.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are. First, that howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindereth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the Greatest Part of Trade, is driven by Young Merchants, upon Borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or keepe backe his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easie borrowing upon *Interest*, Mens necessities would draw upon them, a most sudden undoing; In that they would be forced to sell their Meanes (be it Lands or Goods) farre under Foot; and so, whereas *Usury* doth but Gnaw upon them, Bad Markets would Swallow them quite up. As for Mortgaging, or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; For either Men will not take Pawnes without *Use*; Or if they doe, they will looke precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a Cruell Moneyed

Man, in the Country, that would say; The Devill take this *Usury*, it keepes us from Forfeitures, of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and Last is; That it is a Vanitie to conceive, that there would be Ordinary Borrowing without Profit; And it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be Cramped. Therefore, to speake of the Abolishing of *Usury* is Idle. All States have ever had it, in one Kinde or Rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

The Reformation of Usury

To speake now, of the *Reformation* and *Reglement* of *Usury*; How the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appeares by the Ballance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities* of *Usury*, Two Things are to be Reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usurie* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there bee left open a Meanes, to invite Moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two severall *Sorts* of *Usury*; A *Lesse*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant wil be to seeke for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most Lucrative, may beare *Usury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates* of *Usury*, The one Free, and Generall for All; The other

Two Rates of Usury proposed

under *Licence* only, to *Certaine Persons*, and in *Certaine Places* of *Merchandizing*. First therefore, let *Usury*, *in generall, be reduced to Five in the Hundred;* And let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Current; And let the State shut it selfe out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any generall Stop or Drinesse. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Countrie. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteene yeares Purchase, wil yeeld Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest, Yeelds but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge, Industrious and Profitable Improvements; Because Many will rather venture in that kinde, then take Five in the Hundred, especially having beene used to greater Profit. Secondly, let there be *Certaine Persons licensed to Lend, to knowne Merchants*, upon *Usury* at a *Higher Rate;* and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himselfe, somewhat more easie, then that he used formerly to pay: For, by that Meanes, all Borrowers shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Banke or Common Stocke, but every Man be Master of his owne Money; Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the Licence, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit

discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that tooke before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, wil sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, then give over his Trade of *Usury;* And goe from Certaine Gaines, to Gaines of Hazard. Let these Licenced Lenders be in Number Indefinite, but restrained to Certaine Principall Cities and Townes of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to Colour other Mens Moneyes, in the Country: So as the *Licence of Nine*, will not sucke away the current *Rate of Five:* For no Man will Lend his Moneyes farre off, nor put them into Unknown Hands. **Usury to be authorized**

If it be Objected, that this doth, in a Sort, Authorize *Usury*, which before was, in some places, but Permissive: The Answer is; That it is better, to Mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, then to suffer it to Rage by *Connivence.*

XLII

Of Youth and Age

A MAN that is *Young in yeares*, may be Old in Houres, if he have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, *youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so Wise as the Second. For there is a *youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of *Young Men*, is more lively, then that of Old: And Imaginations streame into their Mindes

Faults of Youth and of Age

better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they have passed the Meridian of their yeares: As it was with *Julius Cæsar*, & *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Juventutem egit, Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenam.* And yet he was the Ablest Emperour, almost, of all the List. But Reposed Natures may doe well in *Youth*. And it is seene, in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, *Gaston de Fois*, and others. On the other side, Heate and Vivacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for Businesse. *Young Men*, are Fitter to Invent, then to Judge; Fitter for Execution, then for Counsell; And Fitter for New Projects, then for Setled Businesse. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them; But in New Things, abuseth them. The Errours of *Young Men* are the Ruine of Businesse; But the Errours of *Aged Men* amount but to this; That more might have beene done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the Conduct, and Mannage of Actions, Embrace more then they can Hold, Stirre more then they can Quiet; Fly to the End, without Consideration of the Meanes, and Degrees; Pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon absurdly; Care not to Innovate, which draws unknowne Inconveniences; Use extreme Remedies at first; And, that which doubleth all Errours, will not acknowledge or retract them; Like an unready Horse, that will neither Stop,

nor Turne. *Men* of *Age*, Object too much, Consult too long, Adventure too little, Repent too soone, and seldome drive Businesse home to the full Period; But content themselves with a Mediocrity of Successe. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; For that will be Good for the *Present*, because the Vertues of either *Age*, may correct the defects of both: And good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actours: And lastly, Good for *Externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth *Old Men*, And Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the Morall Part, perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the Politique. A certaine *Rabbine*, upon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dreame dreames;* Inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God then *Old;* Because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation, then a *Dreame*. And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; And *Age* doth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding, then in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an Over-early Ripenesse in their yeares, which fadeth betimes: These are first, Such as have Brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soone turned; Such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding Subtill; Who afterwards waxed Stupid. A Second Sort is of those, that have some naturall Dispositions, which have better Grace in *Youth*, then in *Age:* Such as is a fluent and Luxuriant Speech; which

Youth and Age as Colleagues

Over-early Ripeness

becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age:* So *Tully* saith of *Hortensius; Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The third is of such, as take too high a Straine at the First; And are Magnanimous, more then Tract of yeares can uphold. As was *Scipio Affricanus*, of whom *Livy* saith in effect; *Ultima primis cedebant.*

XLIII

Of Beauty

VERTUE is like a Rich Stone, best plaine set: And surely, Vertue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of Delicate Features; And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, then *Beauty* of Aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that very *Beautifull Persons*, are otherwise of great Vertue; As if Nature, were rather Busie not to erre, then in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove Accomplished, but not of great Spirit; And Study rather Behaviour, then Vertue. But this holds not alwaies; For *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the *Fourth* of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Ismael* the *Sophy* of *Persia*, were all High and Great Spirits; And yet the most *Beautifull Men* of their Times. In *Beauty*, that of Favour, is more then that of Colour, And that of Decent and Gracious Motion, more then that of Favour.

That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot expresse; No nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no Excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some Strangenesse in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometricall Proportions: The other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I thinke, would please no Body, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter, may make a better Face, then ever was; But he must doe it, by a kinde of Felicity, (As a Musician that maketh an excellent Ayre in Musicke) And not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall finde never a good; And yet all together doe well. If it be true, that the Principall Part of *Beauty*, is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvaile, though *Persons in Yeares*, seeme many times more Amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher:* For no *Youth* can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the comelinesse. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are easie to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh Vertues shine, and Vices blush.

Of Beauty of Person

XLIIII

Of Deformity

Deformity acts on Character

DEFORMED Persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) *void of Naturall Affection;* And so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Minde; And where Nature erreth in the One, she ventureth in the Other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Minde, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Starres of Naturall Inclination, are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline, and Vertue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Signe, which is more Deceivable; But as a Cause, which seldome faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth enduce Contempt, hath also a perpetuall Spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliver himselfe from Scorne: Therefore all *Deformed Persons* are extreme Bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn; But in Processe of Time, by a Generall Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kinde, to watch and observe the Weaknesse of Others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Againe, in their

Superiours, it quencheth Jealousie towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: And it layeth their Competitours and Emulatours asleepe; As never beleeving, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in Ancient Times, (And at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put Great Trust in *Eunuchs;* Because they, that are Envious towards All, are more Obnoxious and Officious towards One. But yet their Trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good Spialls, and good Whisperers; then good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *Deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seeke to free themselves from Scorne; Which must be, either by Vertue, or Malice: And therefore, let it not be Marvelled, if sometimes they prove Excellent Persons; As was *Agesilaus*, *Zanger* the Sonne of *Solyman*, *Æsope*, *Gasca* President of *Peru;* And *Socrates* may goe likewise amongst them; with Others.

Instances of Greatness in deformed Men

XLV

Of Building

HOUSES are built to Live in, and not to Looke on: Therefore let Use bee preferred before Uniformitie; Except where both

Choice of a Site

may be had. Leave the Goodly Fabrickes of *Houses*, for Beautie only, to the *Enchanted Pallaces* of the *Poets*: Who build them with small Cost. Hee that builds a faire *House*, upon an *ill Seat*, committeth Himselfe to Prison. Neither doe I reckon it an *ill Seat*, only, where the Aire is Unwholsome; But likewise where the Aire is unequall; As you shall see many Fine *Seats*, set upon a knap of Ground, Environed with Higher Hilles round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sunne is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughes; So as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversitie of Heat and Cold, as if you Dwelt in severall Places. Neither is it *ill Aire* onely, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but Ill Wayes, Ill Markets; And, if you will consult with *Momus*, Ill Neighbours. I speake not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulnesse, and mixture of Grounds of severall Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of Levell Grounds; Want of Places, at some neare Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hauking, and Races; Too neare the Sea, too remote; Having the Commoditie of Navigable Rivers, or the discommoditie of their Overflowing; Too farre off from great Cities, which may hinder Businesse; Or too neare them, which Lurcheth all Provisions, and maketh every Thing deare: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is scanted: All which, as it is impossible, perhaps, to finde together, so it is good to know them, and thinke of them, that a Man may take as many as he

can: And if he have severall Dwellings, that he sort them so, that what hee wanteth in the One, hee may finde in the Other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well; Who when hee saw his Stately Galleries, and Roomes, so Large and Lightsome, in one of his *Houses*, said; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how doe you in Winter? Lucullus* answered; *Why, doe you not think me as wise, as some Fowle are, that ever change their Aboad towards the Winter?*

Model of a princely Palace

To passe from the *Seat*, to the *House* it selfe; We will doe as *Cicero* doth, in the Oratours Art; Who writes Bookes *De Oratore*, and a Booke he entitles *Orator:* Whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art;* And the Latter the *Perfection.* We will therefore describe a *Princely Pallace*, making a briefe Modell thereof. For it is strange to see, now in *Europe*, such Huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Escuriall*, and some Others be, and yet scarce a very Faire Roome in them.

First therefore, I say, you cannot have a Perfect *Pallace*, except you have two severall Sides; A Side for the *Banquet*, as is spoken of in the Booke of *Hester;* And a Side; for the *Houshold:* The One for Feasts and Triumphs, and the Other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides, to be not onely Returnes, but Parts of the *Front;* And to be uniforme without, though severally Partitioned within; And to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Stately Tower*, in the Middest of the *Front;* That as it were, joyneth them together, on either Hand. I would

Two Sides and a Tower

have on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *Goodly Roome*, above Staires, of some Fortie Foot high; And under it, a Roome, for a *Dressing* or *Preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Houshold* Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a *Hall*, and a *Chappell*, (with a Partition betweene;) Both of good State, and Bignesse: And those not to goe all the length, but to have, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parler*, both Faire. And under these Roomes, A Faire and Large *Cellar*, suncke under Ground: And likewise, some *Privie Kitchins*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteene Foot High a peece, above the two Wings; And a Goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed with Statua's interposed; And the same *Tower* to bee divided into Roomes, as shall be thought fit. The Staires likewise, to the upper Roomes, let them bee upon a Faire open *Newell*, and finely raild in, with *Images* of *Wood*, cast into a Brasse Colour: And a very faire *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you doe not point, any of the lower Roomes, for a Dining Place of Servants. For otherwise, you shall have the Servants Dinner, after your owne: For the Steame of it will come up as in a Tunnell. And so much for the *Front*. Only, I understand the Height of the first Staires, to be Sixteene Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Roome.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a Faire *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a Farre Lower

building, then the *Front*. And in all the foure Corners of that Court, Faire Staire Cases, cast into *Turrets*, on the Outside, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themselves. But those *Towers*, are not to be of the Height of the *Front*; But rather Proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be paved, for that striketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But onely some Side Alleys, with a Crosse, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorne, but not too neare Shorne. The *Row* of *Returne*, on the *Banquet Side*, Let it be all *Stately Galleries*; In which *Galleries*, Let there be three, or five, fine *Cupola's*, in the Length of it, placed at equall distance: And fine *Coloured Windowes* of severall workes. On the Houshold Side, *Chambers* of *Presence*, and Ordinary Entertainments, with some *Bedchambers*; And let all three Sides, be a double House, without Thorow Lights, on the Sides, that you may have Roomes from the Sunne, both for Fore-noone, and After-noone. Cast it also, that you may have Roomes, both for Summer, and Winter: Shadie for Summer, and Warme for Winter. You shall have sometimes Faire *Houses*, so full of Glasse, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sunne, or Cold: For *Inbowed Windowes*, I hold them of good Use; (In Cities indeed, *Upright* doe better, in respect of the Uniformitie towards the Street;) For they bee Prettie Retiring Places for Conference; And besides, they keepe both the Wind, and Sunne off: For that which would

The Court

The second Court

strike almost thorow the Roome, doth scarce passe the *Window*. But let them be but few, Foure in the *Court*, On the Sides onely.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *Inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; Which is to be environed, with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, Cloistered on all Sides, upon Decent and Beautifull Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *Under Story*, towards the *Garden*, Let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And onely have opening and *Windowes* towards the *Garden;* And be Levell upon the Floare, no whit sunke under Ground, to avoid all Dampishnesse. And let there be a *Fountaine*, or some faire *Worke of Statua's*, in the Middest of this *Court;* And to be Paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for *Privie Lodgings*, on both Sides; And the End, for *Privie Galleries*. Whereof, you must fore-see, that one of them, be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince, or any Speciall Person should be Sicke, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it. This upon the Second Story. Upon the *Ground Story*, a Faire *Gallery*, *Open*, upon *Pillars:* And upon the *Third Story* likewise, an *Open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshnesse of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Returne, Let there be two Delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, Daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glased with *Crystalline Glasse*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the Middest; And all other Elegancie

that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yeeld it, some *Fountaines* Running, in divers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much, for the Modell of the *Pallace:* Save that, you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. *A Greene Court Plain*, with a Wall about it: *A Second Court* of the same, but more Garnished, with little Turrets, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Tarrasses*, Leaded aloft, and fairely garnished, on the three Sides; And Cloistered on the Inside, with Pillars, and not with Arches Below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at Distance, with some *Low Galleries*, to passe from them, to the *Pallace* it Selfe.

Three Courts in the Front

XLVI

Of Gardens

GOD *Almightie* first Planted a *Garden*. And indeed, it is the Purest of Humane pleasures. It is the Greatest Refreshment to the Spirits of Man; Without which, *Buildings* and *Pallaces* are but Grosse Handy-works: And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancie, Men come to *Build*

Flowers in their Seasons

Stately, sooner then to *Garden Finely:* As if *Gardening* were the Greater Perfection. I doe hold it, in the Royall Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens*, for all the *Moneths* in the Yeare: In which, severally, Things of Beautie, may be then in Season. For *December*, and *January*, and the Latter Part of *November*, you must take such Things, as are Greene all Winter; Holly; Ivy; Bayes; Juniper; Cipresse Trees; Eugh; Pine-Apple-Trees; Firre-Trees; Rose-Mary; Lavander; Periwinckle, the White, the Purple, and the Blewe; Germander; Flagges; Orenge-Trees; Limon-Trees; And Mirtles, if they be stooved; & Sweet Marjoram warme set. There followeth, for the latter Part of *January*, and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossomes; Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow, and the Gray; Prime-Roses; Anemones; The Early Tulippa; Hiacynthus Orientalis; Chamaïris; Frettellaria. For *March*, There come Violets, specially the Single Blew, which are the Earliest; The Yellow Daffadill; The Dazie; The Almond-Tree in Blossome; The Peach-Tree in Blossome; The Cornelian-Tree in Blossome; Sweet-Briar. In *Aprill* follow, The Double white Violet; The Wall-flower; The Stock-Gilly-Flower; The Couslip; Flower-Delices, & Lillies of all Natures; Rose-mary Flowers; The Tulippa; The Double Piony; The Pale Daffadill; The French Honny-Suckle; The Cherry-Tree in Blossome; The Dammasin, and Plum-Trees in Blossome; The White-Thorne in Leafe; The Lelacke Tree. In *May*,

and *June*, come Pincks of all sorts, Specially the Blush Pincke; Roses of all kinds, except the Muske, which comes later; Hony-Suckles; Strawberries; Buglosse; Columbine; The French Mary-gold; Flos Africanus; Cherry-Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figges in Fruit; Raspes; Vine Flowers; Lavender in Flowers; The Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Lilium Convallium; The Apple-tree in Blossome. In *July*, come Gilly-Flowers of all Varieties; Muske Roses; The Lime-Tree in blossome; Early Peares, and Plummes in Fruit; Ginnitings; Quadlins. In *August*, come Plummes of all sorts in Fruit; Peares; Apricockes; Berberies; Filberds; Muske-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Cotones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Services; Medlars; Bullises; Roses Cut or Removed to come late; Hollyokes; and such like. These Particulars are for the *Climate* of *London;* But my meaning is Perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the Place affords.

Flowers in their Seasons

And because, the *Breath* of Flowers, is farre Sweeter in the Aire, (where it comes and Goes, like the Warbling of Musick) then in the hand, therfore nothing is more fit for that delight, then to know, what be the *Flowers*, and *Plants*, that doe best perfume the Aire. Roses Damask & Red, are fast Flowers of their Smels; So that; you may walke by a whole Row of them, and

Flowers for Perfume

finde Nothing of their Sweetnesse; Yea though it be, in a Mornings Dew. Bayes likewise yeeld no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; Nor Sweet-Marjoram. That, which above all Others, yeelds the *Sweetest Smell* in the *Aire*, is the Violet; Specially the White-double-Violet, which comes twice a Yeare; About the middle of *Aprill*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Muske-Rose. Then the Strawberry-Leaves dying, which [? yeeld] a most Excellent Cordiall Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; It is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which growes upon the Cluster, in the First comming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wall-Flowers, which are very Delightfull, to be set under a Parler, or Lower Chamber Window. Then Pincks, and Gilly-Flowers, specially the Matted Pinck, & Clove Gilly-flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, so they be somewhat a farre off. Of Beane Flowers I speake not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Aire most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being *Troden upon* and *Crushed*, are Three: That is Burnet, Wilde-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to set whole Allies of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walke or tread.

For *Gardens*, (Speaking of those, which are indeed *Prince-like*, as we have done of *Buildings*) the Contents, ought not well to be, under *Thirty Acres of Ground*; And to be divided into three Parts: A *Greene* in the Entrance; A *Heath* or *Desart* in the Going forth; And the

Maine Garden in the midst; Besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Foure Acres of Ground, be assigned to the *Greene;* Six to the *Heath;* Foure and Foure to either *Side;* And Twelve to the *Maine Garden.* The Greene hath two pleasures; The one, because nothing is more Pleasant to the Eye, then Greene Grasse kept finely shorne; The other, because it will give you a faire Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to inclose the *Garden.* But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Yeare, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by Going in the Sunne thorow the *Greene*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Greene*, to Plant a *Covert Alley*, upon Carpenters Worke, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may goe in Shade, into the *Garden.* As for the Making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie under the Windowes of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toyes: You may see as good Sights, many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best to be Square; Incompassed, on all the Foure Sides, with a *Stately Arched Hedge.* The *Arches* to be upon *Pillars*, of Carpenters Worke, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch.* Over the *Arches*, let there bee an *Entire Hedge*, of some Foure Foot High, framed also upon Carpenters Worke: And upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a

Plan of a princely Garden

The Main Garden and Hedge

Belly, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds:* And over every *Space*, betweene the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*, with Broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glasse*, gilt, for the *Sunne*, to Play upon. But this *Hedge* I entend to be, raised upon a *Bancke*, not Steepe, but gently Slope, of some Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, should not be the whole Breadth of the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough, for diversity of *Side Alleys:* Unto which, the Two *Covert Alleys* of the *Greene*, may deliver you. But there must be, no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure:* Not at the *Hither End*, for letting your Prospect upon this Faire Hedge from the *Greene;* Nor at the *Further End*, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the Arches, upon the *Heath*.

For the Ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device; Advising neverthelesse, that whatsoever forme you cast it into, first it be not too Busie, or full of Worke. Wherein I, for my part, doe not like *Images Cut out* in *Juniper*, or other *Garden stuffe:* They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round, like Welts, with some Pretty *Pyramides*, I like well: And in some Places, *Faire Columnes* upon Frames of Carpenters Worke. I would also, have the *Alleys*, Spacious and Faire. You may have *Closer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Maine Garden*. I wish also, in the very Middle, a *Faire Mount*, with three Ascents, and Alleys, enough for foure

to walke a breast; Which I would have to be Perfect Circles, without any Bulwarkes, or Imbosments; And the *Whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; And some fine *Banquetting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glasse*. Fountains and Pools

For *Fountaines*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; But *Pooles* marre all, and make the *Garden* unwholsome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountaines* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *Sprinckleth* or *Spouteth Water;* The Other a *Faire Receipt* of *Water*, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images Gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, doe well: But the maine Matter is, so to Convey the Water, as it never Stay, either in the Bowles, or in the Cesterne; That the Water be never by Rest *Discoloured*, *Greene*, or *Red*, or the like; Or gather any *Mossinesse* or *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some *Steps* up to it, and some *Fine Pavement* about it, doth well. As for the other Kinde of *Fountaine*, which we may call a *Bathing Poole*, it may admit much Curiosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble our selves: As, that the Bottome be finely Paved, And with Images: The sides likewise; And withall Embellished with Coloured Glasse, and such Things of Lustre; Encompassed also, with fine Railes of Low Statua's. But the Maine Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former Kinde

The Heath or Wilderness

of *Fountaine;* which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetuall Motion*, Fed by a Water higher then the *Poole*, and Delivered into it by faire Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground, by some Equalitie of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices, of Arching Water without Spilling, and Making it rise in severall Formes, (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like,) they be pretty things to looke on, but Nothing to Health and Sweetnesse.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Naturall wildnesse*. *Trees* I would have none in it; But some *Thickets*, made onely of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Honny-suckle*, and some *Wilde Vine* amongst; And the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Prime-Roses*. For these are Sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-hils*, (such as are in *Wilde Heaths*) to be set, some with Wilde Thyme; Some with Pincks; Some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; Some with Periwinckle; Some with Violets; Some with Strawberries; Some with Couslips; Some with Daisies; Some with Red-Roses; Some with Lilium Convallium; Some with Sweet-Williams Red; Some with Beares-Foot; And the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet, and Sightly. Part of which *Heapes*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, prickt upon their

Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses; Juniper; Holly; Beare-berries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossome;) Red Currans; Goose-berries; Rose-Mary; Bayes; Sweet-Briar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course. Side-Alleys for Shade

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Varietie* of *Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade; Some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows Sharpe, you may walke, as in a Gallery. And those Alleys must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keepe out the Wind; And these *Closer Alleys*, must bee ever finely Gravelled, and no Grasse, because of Going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit-Trees* of all Sorts; As well upon the Walles, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders*, wherin you plant your *Fruit-Trees*, be Faire and Large, and Low, and not Steepe; And Set with *Fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they Deceive the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some Pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure Brest high, to looke abroad into the Fields.

For the *Maine Garden*, I doe not Deny, but there should be some Faire *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees;* And some Pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, And *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some Decent Order; But these to be, by

The Main Garden should be open and airy

no Meanes, set too thicke; But to leave the *Maine Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Aire Open and Free. For as for *Shade*, I would have you rest, upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walke, if you be Disposed, in the Heat of the Yeare, or day; But to make Account, that the *Maine Garden*, is for the more Temperate Parts of the yeare; And in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Over-cast Dayes.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largenesse, as they may be *Turffed*, and have *Living Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; That the *Birds* may have more Scope, and Naturall Neastling, and that no *Foulenesse* appeare, in the *Floare* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Platforme of a *Princely Garden*, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it; And in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is Nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the most Part, taking Advice with Workmen, with no Lesse Cost, set their Things together; And sometimes adde *Statua's*, and such Things, for State, and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a *Garden*.

XLVII

Of Negociating

Rules for the Conduct of Affairs

IT is generally better to *deale* by Speech, then by Letter; And by the Mediation of a Third, then by a Mans Selfe. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Answer by Letter backe againe; Or when it may serve, for a Mans Justification, afterwards to produce his owne Letter; Or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Peeces. To *deale in Person* is good, when a Mans Face breedeth Regard, as Commonly with Inferiours; Or in Tender Cases, where a Mans Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction, how farre to goe: And generally, where a Man will reserve to himselfe Libertie, either to Disavow, or to Expound. In Choice of *Instruments*, it is better, to choose Men of a Plainer Sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Successe; Then those, that are Cunning to Contrive out of other Mens Businesse, somewhat to grace themselves; And will helpe the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. Use also, such Persons, as affect the Businesse, wherin they are Employed; For that quickneth much; And such, as are Fit for the Matter; As Bold Men for Expostulation, Faire spoken Men for Perswasion, Craftie Men for

How to deal with Men

Enquiry and Observation, Froward and Absurd Men for Businesse that doth not well beare out it Selfe. Use also such, as have beene Luckie, and Prevailed before in Things wherein you have Emploied them; For that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintaine their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one *Deales*, a farre off, then to fall upon the Point at first; Except you meane to surprize him by some Short Question. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, then with those that are where they would be. If a Man *Deale* with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all; Which a Man cannot reasonably Demaund, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must goe before; Or Else a Man can perswade the other Partie, that hee shall still need him, in some other Thing; Or else that he be counted the Honester Man. All Practise, is to *Discover*, or to *Worke*. Men *Discover* themselves, in Trust; In Passion; At unawares; And of Necessitie, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt Pretext. If you would *Worke* any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so Lead him; Or his Ends, and so Perswade him; Or his Weaknesse, and Disadvantages, and so Awe him; or those that have Interest in him, and so Governe him. In *Dealing* with Cunning Persons, we must ever Consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches; And it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least looke for. In all *Negociations*

of Difficultie, a Man may not looke, to Sowe and Reape at once; But must Prepare Businesse, and so Ripen it by Degrees.

Business must have Time to ripen

XLVIII

Of Followers and Frends

COSTLY *Followers* are not to be liked; Lest while a Man maketh his Traine Longer, hee make his Wings Shorter. I reckon to bee Costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are Wearisome and Importune in Sutes. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no Higher Conditions, then Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which Follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range Themselves, but upon Discontentment Conceived against some Other: Whereupon commonly ensueth, that Ill Intelligence, that we many times see betweene Great Personages. Likewise Glorious *Followers*, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they Follow, are full of Inconvenience; For they taint Businesse through Want of Secrecie; And they Export Honour from a Man, and make him a Returne in Envie. There is a Kinde of *Followers* likewise, which are Dangerous, being indeed Espials; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and beare

Choice of Followers

Tales of them to Others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour; For they are Officious, And commonly Exchange Tales. The *Following* by certaine *Estates* of *Men*, answerable to that, which a Great Person himselfe professeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been Employed in the Warres, and the like,) hath ever beene a Thing Civill, and well taken even in Monarchies; So it be without too much Pompe or Popularitie. But the most Honourable Kinde of *Following*, is to be Followed, as one that apprehendeth, to advance Vertue and Desert, in all Sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no Eminent Odds in Sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more Passable, then with the more Able. And besides, to speake Truth, in Base Times, Active Men are of more use, then Vertuous. It is true, that in Government, it is Good to use Men of one Rancke equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them Insolent, and the rest Discontent; Because they may claime a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much Difference and Election, is Good; For it maketh the Persons Preferred more Thankfull, and the Rest more officious; Because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; Because One cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One, is not safe: For it shewes Softnesse, and gives a Freedome to Scandall and Disreputation: For those that would not Censure, or Speake ill of a Man immediatly, will talke more

boldly of Those, that are so great with them, and thereby Wound their Honour. Yet to be Distracted with many is Worse; For it makes Men, to be of the Last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Frends is ever Honourable; *For Lookers on, many times, see more then Gamesters; And the Vale best discovereth the Hill.* There is Little Frendship in the World, and Least of all betweene Equals, which was wont to be Magnified. That that is, is between Superiour and Inferiour, whose Fortunes may Comprehend, the One the Other.

Of Friendship betweene Superior and Inferior

XLIX

Of Sutours

MANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken; And Private *Sutes* do Putrifie the Publique Good. Many Good Matters are undertaken with Bad Mindes; I meane not onely Corrupt Mindes, but Craftie Mindes, that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Sutes*, which never meane to deale effectually in them; But if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other meane, they will be content to winne a Thanke, or take a Second Reward, or at least to make Use, in the meane time, of the *Sutours* Hopes. Some take hold of *Sutes*, onely for an Occasion, to Crosse some other; Or to make

The Rights and Deserts of Suitors

an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext; without Care what become of the *Sute*, when that Turne is served: Or generally, to make other Mens Businesse, a Kinde of Entertainment, to bring in their owne. Nay, some undertake *Sutes*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall; To the end, to gratifie the Adverse Partie, or Competitour. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in every *Sute:* Either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Sute* of Controversie; Or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Sute* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the Wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance, to Compound the Matter, then to Carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the lesse Worthy in Desert, let him doe it without Depraving or Disabling the Better Deserver. In *Sutes*, which a man doth not well understand, it is good to referre them, to some Frend of Trust and Judgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with Honour: But let him chuse well his Referendaries, for else he may be led by the Nose. *Sutours* are so distasted with Delayes, and Abuses, that Plaine Dealing, in denying to deale in *Sutes* at first, and Reporting the Successe barely, and in Challenging no more Thanks then one hath deserved, is grown not onely Honourable, but also Gracious. In *Sutes* of Favour, the first Comming ought to take little Place: So farre forth Consideration may bee had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have beene had, but by him, Advantage bee not taken of the

Note, but the Partie left to his other Meanes; and, in some sort, Recompenced for his Discoverie. To be Ignorant of the value of a *Sute*, is Simplicitie; As well as to be Ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecie in *Sutes*, is a great Meane of Obtaining; For voycing them, to bee in Forwardnesse, may discourage some Kinde of *Sutours;* But doth Quicken and Awake Others. But Timing of the *Sute*, is the Principall. Timing, I say, not onely in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those, which are like to Crosse it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Meane, rather choose the Fittest Meane, then the Greatest Meane: And rather them, that deale in certaine Things, then those that are Generall. The Reparation of a Deniall, is somtimes Equall to the first Grant; If a Man shew himselfe, neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras;* is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a man were better rise in his *Sute;* For he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Sutour*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Sutour*, and his owne former Favour. Nothing is thought so Easie a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; And yet, if it be not in a Good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments, then these Generall Contrivers of *Sutes:* For they are but a Kinde of Poyson and Infection to Publique Proceedings.

How to conduct a Suit

L

Of Studies

Learning perfects Nature

STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their Chiefe Use for Delight, is in Privatenesse and Retiring; For Ornament, is in Discourse; And for Ability, is in the Judgement and Disposition of Businesse. For Expert Men can Execute, and perhaps Judge of particulars, one by one; But the generall Counsels, and the Plots, and Marshalling of Affaires, come best from those that are *Learned.* To spend too much Time in *Studies*, is Sloth; To use them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; To make Judgement wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholler. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For Naturall Abilities, are like Naturall Plants, that need Proyning by *Study:* And *Studies* themselves, doe give forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men Contemne *Studies;* Simple Men Admire them; And Wise Men Use them; For they teach not their owne Use; But that is a Wisdome without them, and above them, won by Observation. Reade not to Contradict, and Confute; Nor to Beleeve and Take for granted; Nor to Finde Talke and Discourse; But to weigh and Consider. Some *Bookes* are to be Tasted, Others to be Swallowed, and Some Few to be Chewed and

Digested: That is, some *Bookes* are to be read onely in Parts; Others to be read but not Curiously; And some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Bookes* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by Others: But that would be, onely in the lesse important Arguments, and the Meaner Sort of *Bookes:* else distilled *Bookes*, are like Common distilled Waters, Flashy Things. Reading maketh a Full Man; Conference a Ready Man; And Writing an Exact Man. And therefore, If a Man Write little, he had need have a Great memory; If he Conferre little, he had need have a Present Wit; And if he Reade litle, he had need have much Cunning, to seeme to know that, he doth not. *Histories* make Men Wise; *Poets* Witty; The *Mathematicks* Subtill; *Naturall Philosophy* deepe; *Morall* Grave; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* Able to Contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores.* Nay there is no Stond or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by Fit *Studies:* Like as Diseases of the Body, may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reines; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast; Gentle Walking for the Stomacke; Riding for the Head; And the like. So if a Mans Wit be Wandring, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks;* For in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again: If his Wit be not Apt to distinguish or find differences, let him *Study* the *Schoole-men;* For they are *Cymini sectores.* If he be not Apt to

Choice of Studies

Special Studies

beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing, to Prove and Illustrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Cases:* So every Defect of the Minde, may have a Speciall Receit.

LI

Of Faction

MANY have an Opinion not wise; That for a Prince to Governe his Estate; Or for a Great Person to governe his Proceedings, according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principall Part of Policy: whereas contrariwise, the Chiefest Wisdome is, either in Ordering those Things, which are Generall, and wherein Men of Severall *Factions* doe nevertheless agree; Or in dealing with Correspondence to Particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions*, is to be Neglected. Meane Men, in their Rising, must adhere; But Great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintaine themselves Indifferent, and Neutrall. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as hee bee a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most Passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The Lower and Weaker *Faction*, is the firmer in Conjunction: And it is often seene, that a few, that are Stiffe, doe tire out, a greater Number, that are more Moderate. When One of the *Factions* is Extin-

guished, the Remaining Subdivideth: As the *Faction*, betweene *Lucullus*, and the Rest of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while, against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar:* But when the Senates Authority was pulled Downe, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after brake. The *Faction* or Partie of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrowne, then soone after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and Subdivided. These Examples are of Warres, but the same holdeth in Private *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Factions*, doe many times, when the *Faction* Subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they prove Ciphars and Casheer'd: For many a Mans Strength is in opposition; And when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seene, that Men once Placed, take in with the Contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter; Thinking belike that they have the First Sure; And now are Readie for a New Purchase. The Traitour in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; For when Matters have stucke long in Ballancing, the Winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thankes. The Even Carriage betweene two *Factions*, proceedeth not alwaies of Moderation, but of a Truenesse to a Mans Selfe, with End to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their Mouth, *Padre commune:* And

Vicissitudes of Faction

Factions pernicious to Monarchies

take it, to be a Signe of one, that meaneth to referre all, to the Greatnesse of his owne House. Kings had need beware, how they Side themselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Partie: For Leagues, within the State, are ever Pernicious to Monarchies; For they raise an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraigntie, and make the King, *Tanquàm unus ex nobis:* As was to be seene, in the *League* of *France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Signe of Weaknesse in Princes; And much to the Prejudice, both of their Authoritie, and Businesse. The Motions of *Factions*, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speake) of the Inferiour Orbs; which may have their Proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the Higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*.

LII

Of Ceremonies and Respects

HE that is only Reall, had need have Exceeding great Parts of Vertue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foile. But if a Man marke it well, it is in praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gaines: For the Proverbe is true, *That light Gaines make heavy Purses;* For light Gaines come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that Small Matters win

great Commendation, because they are continually in Use, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Vertue, commeth but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much adde, to a Mans Reputation, and is, (as Queene *Isabella* said) *Like perpetuall Letters Commendatory*, to have good *Formes*. To Attaine them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him trust himselfe with the rest. For if he Labour too much to Expresse them, he shall lose their Grace; Which is to be Naturall and Unaffected. Some Mens Behaviour, is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is Measured: How can a man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Minde too much to small Observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach Others not to use them againe; And so diminisheth *Respect* to himselfe: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and Formall Natures: But the Dwelling upon them, & Exalting them above the Moone, is not only Tedious, but doth Diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speakes. And certainly, there is a Kinde, of Conveying of Effectuall and Imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of Singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Mans Peeres, a Man shall be sure of Familiaritie; And therefore, it is good a little to keepe State. Amongst a Mans Inferiours, one shall be sure of Reverence; And therefore it is good a little to be Familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Sacietie,

Value of Ceremony in Behaviour

Be not over-ceremonious

maketh himselfe cheape. To apply Ones Selfe to others, is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard, And not upon Facilitie. It is a good Precept, generally in Seconding Another, yet to adde somewhat of Ones Owne: As if you will grant his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; If you will follow his Motion, let it bee with Condition; If you allow his Counsell, let it be with Alledging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; For be they never so Sufficient otherwise, their Enviers will be sure to give them that Attribute, to the Disadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is losse also in businesse, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too Curious in Observing Times and Opportunities. *Salomon* saith; *He that considereth the wind, shall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, shall not reape.* A wise Man will make more Opportunities then he findes. Mens Behaviour should be like their Apparell, not too Strait, or point Device, but Free for Exercise or Motion.

LIII

Of Praise

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue. But it is as the Glasse or Bodie, which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People,

it is commonly False and Naught: And rather followeth Vaine Persons, then Vertuous: For the Common People understand not many Excellent Vertues: The Lowest Vertues draw *Praise* from them; The middle Vertues worke in them Astonishment, or Admiration; But of the Highest Vertues, they have no Sense, or Perceiving at all. But Shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, And Drownes Things waighty and Solide: But if persons of Qualitie and Judgement concurre, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Oyntments, are more Durable, then those of Flowers. There be so many False Points of *Praise*, that a Man may justly hold it a Suspect. Some *Praises* proceed meerely of Flattery; And if hee be an Ordinary Flatterer, he will have certaine Common Attributes, which may serve every Man; If he be a Cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Mans selfe; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most: But if he be an Impudent Flatterer, look wherin a man is Conscious to himselfe, that he is most Defective, and is most out of Countenance in himselfe, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ*. Some *Praises* come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Forme due in Civilitie to Kings, and Great Persons,

False Points of Praise

Praise may stir up Envy

Laudando præcipere; When by telling Men, what they are, they represent to them, what they should be. Some Men are *Praised* Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Jealousie towards them; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium;* In so much as it was a Proverb, amongst the *Grecians;* that, *He that was praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise upon his Nose:* As we say; *That a Blister will rise upon ones Tongue, that tell's a lye.* Certainly Moderate *Praise*, used with Opportunity, and not Vulgar, is that which doth the Good. *Salomon* saith, *He that praiseth his Frend aloud, Rising Early, it shall be to him, no better then a Curse.* Too much Magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envie and Scorne. To *Praise* a Mans selfe, cannot be Decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to *Praise* a Mans Office or Profession, he may doe it with Good Grace, and with a Kinde of Magnanimitie. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoole-men, have a Phrase of Notable Contempt and Scorne, towards Civill Businesse: For they call all Temporall Businesse, of Warres, Embassages, Judicature, & other Emploiments, *Sbirrerie;* which is, *Under-Sheriffries;* As if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffes and Catchpoles; Though many times, those *Under-sherifferies* doe more good, then their High Speculations. *S^t. Paul*, when he boasts of himselfe, he doth oft enterlace; *I speake like a Foole;* But speaking of

his Calling, he saith; *Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.* St. Paul cited

LIIII

Of Vaine-Glory

IT was prettily Devised of *Æsope; The Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a Dust doe I raise?* So are there some *Vaine Persons*, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factious;* For all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be *Violent*, to make good their owne Vaunts. Neither can they be *Secret*, and therefore not Effectuall; but according to the *French* Proverb; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is Use of this Qualitie, in Civill Affaires. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created, either of Vertue, or Greatnesse, these Men are good Trumpetters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians; There are sometimes great Effects of Crosse Lies;* As if a Man, that Negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to joyne in a Warre against the Third, doth extoll the Forces of either of them, above Measure, the One to the Other: And sometimes, he that

Uses of Vain-Glory

deales between Man and Man, raiseth his owne Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, then he hath in Either. And in these, and the like Kindes, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing:* For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In Militar Commanders and Sóldiers, *Vaine-Glory* is an Essentiall Point; For as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpneth another. In Cases of great Enterprise, upon Charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures, doth put Life into Businesse; And those that are of Solide and Sober Natures, have more of the Ballast, then of the Saile. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen,* were Men full of *Ostentation.* Certainly *Vaine-Glory* helpeth to Perpetuate a Mans Memory; And Vertue was never so Beholding to Humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,* borne her Age so well, if it had not been joyned, with some *Vanity* in themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Seelings not onely Shine, but Last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-Glory,* I meane not of that Property, that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus; Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Ostentator:* For that proceeds not of *Vanity,* but of Naturall Magnanimity, and discretion: And in some Persons, is not onely

Comely, but Gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty it selfe well Governed, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be Liberall of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Mans Selfe hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very Wittily; *In commending Another, you doe your selfe right; For he that you Commend, is either Superiour to you, in that you Commend, or Inferiour. If he be Inferiour, if he be to be Commended, you much more: If he be Superiour, if he be not to be commended, you much lesse. Glorious* Men are the Scorne of Wise Men; the Admiration of Fooles; the Idols of Parasites; And the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

Arts of Ostentation

LV

Of Honour and Reputation

THE Winning of *Honour*, is but the Revealing of a Mans Vertue and Worth, without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions, doe Wooe and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation:* Which Sort of Men, are commonly much Talked of, but inwardly little Admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Vertue, in the Shew of it; So as they be under-valued in opinion. If a Man performe that which hath not beene attempted before; Or attempted & given over;

Aids to Reputation

Or hath beene atchieved, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*, then by Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Vertue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, hee doth content everie Faction, or Combination of People, the Musicke will bee the fuller. A man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entreth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, then the Carying of it through can *Honor* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken upon Another, hath the quickest Reflection; Like Diamonds cut with Fascets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excell any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in Out-shooting them, if he can, in their owne Bowe. Discreet Followers and Servants helpe much to *Reputation: Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Mans Selfe, in his Ends, rather to seeke Merit, then Fame: And by Attributing a Mans Successes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity, then to his owne Vertue or Policy. The true Marshalling of the Degrees of *Soveraigne Honour* are these. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States*, and *Common-Wealths:* Such as were *Romulus*, *Cyrus*, *Cæsar*, *Ottoman*, *Ismael.* In the Second Place are *Legis-latores*, *Lawgivers;* which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they Governe by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Justinian*,

Eadgar, *Alphonsus* of *Castile*, the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*. In the Third Place, are *Liberatores*, or *Salvatores:* Such as compound the long Miseries of Civill Warres, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; As *Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, K. *Henry* the 7. of *England*, K. *Henry* the 4. of *France*. In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperij;* Such as in Honourable Warres enlarge their Territories, or make Noble defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place, are *Patres Patriæ;* which reigne justly, & make the Times good, wherein they live. Both which last Kindes, need no Examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in *Subjects* are; First, *Participes Curarum;* Those upon whom Princes doe discharge the greatest Weight of their Affaires; Their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The Next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders;* Such as are Princes Lieutenants, and doe them Notable Services in the Warres. The Third are, *Gratiosi; Favourites;* Such as exceed not this Scantling; To be Solace to the Soveraigne, and Harmelesse to the People. And the Fourth, *Negotijs pares;* Such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the Greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of *their Countrey:* As was *M. Regulus*, and the Two *Decij*.

The Degrees of Honour

LVI

Of Judicature

The just Judge

JUDGES ought to remember, that their Office is *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare ; To Interpret Law*, and not to *Make Law*, or *Give Law*. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the *Church* of *Rome ;* which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not sticke to Adde and Alter ; And to Pronounce that, which they doe not Finde ; And by *Shew* of *Antiquitie*, to introduce *Noveltie*. *Judges* ought to be more Learned, then Wittie ; More Reverend, then Plausible ; And more Advised, then Confident. Above all Things, Integritie is their Portion, and Proper Vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that removeth the Land-marke*. The Mislaier of a *Meere Stone* is to blame. But it is the Unjust *Judge*, that is the Capitall Remover of Land-markes, when he Defineth amisse of Lands and Propertie. One Foule Sentence, doth more Hurt, then many Foule Examples. For these doe but Corrupt the Streame ; The other Corrupteth the Fountaine. So saith *Salomon ; Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens in causâ suâ coram Adversario.* The Office of *Judges*, may have Reference, Unto the *Parties that sue ;* Unto the *Advocates that Plead ;* Unto the *Clerkes* and *Ministers of Justice* underneath them ; And to the *Soveraigne* or *State* above them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that Sue.* *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turne Judgement into Worme-wood;* And surely, there be also, that turne it into *Vinegar;* For Injustice maketh it Bitter, and Delaies make it Soure. The Principall Dutie of a *Judge*, is to suppresse Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more Pernicious, when it is Open; And Fraud, when it is Close and Disguised. Adde thereto Contentious Suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the Surfet of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a Just Sentence, as *God* useth to prepare his Way, by *Raising Valleys*, and *Taking downe Hills:* So when there appeareth on either side, an High Hand; Violent Prosecution, Cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counsell, then is the Vertue of a *Judge* seene, to make Inequalitie Equall; That he may plant his *Judgement*, as upon an Even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* And where the Wine-Presse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Judges* must beware of Hard Constructions, and Strained Inferences; For there is no Worse Torture, then the Torture of Lawes. Specially in case of Lawes Penall, they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for Terrour, be not turned into Rigour; And that they bring not upon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh: *Pluet super eos Laqueos:* For Penall Lawes Pressed, are a *Shower of Snares* upon the People. Therefore, let *Penall Lawes*, if they have beene Sleepers of

The Parties that sue

Judge and Counsel

long, or if they be growne unfit for the present Time, be by Wise *Judges* confined in the Execution;

Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.

In *Causes* of *Life* and *Death; Judges* ought (as farre as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy; And to Cast a Severe Eye upon the Example, but a Mercifull Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Counsell that Plead:* Patience and Gravitie of Hearing, is an Essentiall Part of Justice; And an Over-speaking *Judge* is no *well tuned Cymball.* It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to finde that, which hee might have heard, in due time, from the Barre; or to shew Quicknesse of Conceit in Cutting off Evidence or Counsell too short; Or to prevent Information, by Questions though Pertinent. The Parts of a *Judge* in Hearing are Foure: To direct the Evidence; To Moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate, the Materiall Points of that, which hath beene said; And to Give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; And proceedeth, Either of Glory and willingnesse to Speake; Or of Impatience to Heare; Or of Shortnesse of Memorie; Or of Want of a Staid and Equall Attention. It is a Strange Thing to see, that the Boldnesse of *Advocates*, should prevaile with *Judges;* Whereas they should imitate *God*, in

whose Seat they sit; who *represseth the Presumptuous*, and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is more Strange, that *Judges* should have Noted Favourites; Which cannot but Cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of Bywaies. There is due from the *Judge*, to the *Advocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causes* are well Handled, and faire Pleaded; Especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; For that upholds, in the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsell*, and beats downe, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publique*, a Civill Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth Cunning Counsel, Grosse Neglect, Slight Information, Indiscreet Pressing, or an Over-bold Defence. And let not the *Counsell* at the Barre, chop with the *Judge*, nor winde himselfe into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath Declared his Sentence: But on the other side, Let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* halfe Way; Nor give Occasion to the Partie to say; *His Counsell or Proofes were not heard.* Judge and Counsel

Thirdly, for that that concernes *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice*, is an Hallowed Place; And therefore, not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandall and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes*, (as the *Scripture* saith) *will not be gathered of Thornes or Thistles:* Neither can *Justice* yeeld her Fruit with Sweetnesse, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of Catching and Poling *Clerkes* and *Minis-*

Clerks and Servants of the Court

ters. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Foure bad Instruments. First, Certaine Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those, that ingage Courts, in Quarells of Jurisdiction, and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ;* in puffing a Court up beyond her Bounds, for their owne Scraps, and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those, that may be accounted, the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of Nimble and Sinister Trickes and Shifts, whereby they pervert the Plaine and Direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring *Justice* into Oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice*, to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheepe flies for defence in Wether, hee is sure to loose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *Ancient Clerke*, skilfull in Presidents, Wary in Proceeding, and Understanding in the *Businesse* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court;* And doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himselfe.

Fourthly, for that which may concerne the *Soveraigne* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables; Salus Populi Suprema Lex;* And to know, that Lawes, except they bee in Order to that End, are but Things Captious, and Oracles not well Inspired. Therefore it is an Happie Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* doe often Consult with *Judges;* And

againe, when *Judges* doe often Consult with the *King* and *State:* The one, when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Businesse of State; The other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things Deduced to *Judgement*, may bee *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof, may Trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not onely the parts of *Soveraigntie*, but whatsoever introduceth any Great Alteration, or Dangerous president; Or Concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Just Laws, and True Policie, have any *Antipathie:* For they are like the Spirits, and Sinewes, that One moves with the Other. Let *Judges* also remember, that *Salomons Throne*, was supported by Lions, on both Sides; Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; Being circumspect, that they doe not checke, or oppose any Points of *Soveraigntie*. Let not *Judges* also, be so Ignorant of their owne Right, as to thinke, there is not left to them, as a Principall Part of their Office, a Wise Use, and application of Lawes. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law*, then theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ utatur Legitimè.*

The Law and the State

LVII

Of Anger

How to calm one's Anger

TO seeke to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a Bravery of the *Stoickes*. We have better Oracles: *Be Angry, but Sinne not. Let not the Sunne goe downe upon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited, and confined, both in Race, and in Time. We will first speake, How the Naturall Inclination, and Habit, *To be Angry*, may be attempred, and calmed. Secondly, How the Particular Motions of *Anger*, may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischiefe. Thirdly, How to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in Another.

For the first; There is no other Way, but to Meditate and Ruminate well, upon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Mans Life. And the best Time, to doe this, is, to looke backe upon *Anger*, when the Fitt is throughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breakes it Selfe, upon that it fall's.* The Scripture exhorteth us; *To possesse our Soules in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soule.* Men must not turne *Bees;*

——*Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kinde of Basenesse: As it appeares well, in the Weaknesse of those

Subjects, in whom it reignes: Children, Women, Old Folkes, Sicke Folkes. Onely Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger*, rather with Scorne, then with Feare: So that they may seeme rather, to be above the Injury, then below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himselfe in it. **Motives of Anger**

For the Second Point; The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt:* For no Man is *Angry*, that *Feeles* not himselfe Hurt: And therefore Tender and Delicate Persons, must needs be oft *Angry:* They have so many Things to trouble them; Which more Robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Injury offred, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that which putteth an Edge upon *Anger*, as much, or more, then the *Hurt* it selfe. And therefore, when Men are Ingenious, in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they doe kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Mans *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should have, as *Consalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiorem*. But in all Refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time; And to make a Mans Selfe beleeve, that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come: But that he foresees a Time for it; And so to still Himselfe in the meane Time, and reserve it.

To containe *Anger* from *Mischiefe*, though

Two special Cautions

it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have speciall Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitternesse of Words;* Especially, if they be Aculeate, and Proper: For *Communia Maledicta* are nothing so much: And againe, that in *Anger*, a Man reveale no Secrets: For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you doe not *peremptorily break off*, in any Businesse, in a *Fitt* of *Anger:* But howsoever you *shew* Bitternes, do not *Act* any thing, that is not Revocable.

For *Raising* and *Appeasing Anger* in Another; It is done chiefly, by *Choosing of Times*, when Men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Againe, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can finde out, to aggravate the *Contempt*. And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries*. The Former, to take good Times, when first to relate to a Man, an *Angry* Businesse: For the first Impression is much; And the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury, from the Point of *Contempt:* Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.

LVIII

Of Vicissitude of Things

SALOMON saith; *There is no New Thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an Imagination; *That all Knowledge was but Re-*

membrance: So *Salomon* giveth his Sentence; *That all Noveltie is but Oblivion.* Whereby you may see, that the River of *Lethe*, runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abstruse Astrologer that saith; *If it were not, for two things, that are Constant;* (*The one is, that the Fixed Starres ever stand at like distance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor goe further asunder; The other, that the Diurnall Motion perpetually keepeth Time:*) *No Individuall would last one Moment.* Certain it is, that the *Matter*, is in a Perpetuall Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that burie all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earth-quakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they doe not meerely dispeople, and destroy. *Phaetons* Carre went but a day. And the *Three yeares Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but Particular, and left People Alive. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earth-quake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be reserved, are commonly Ignorant and Mountanous People, that can give no Account, of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had beene left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a Newer, or a Younger People, then the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there,

Matter is in perpetual Flux

Of Deluges and Earth-quakes

was not by *Earth-quakes*, (As the *Ægyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis; That it was swallowed by an Earth-quake;*) But rather, that it was desolated, by a Particular *Deluge*. For *Earth-quakes* are seldome in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such *Powring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Affrick*, and *Europe*, are but Brookes to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountaines, are farre higher, then those with us; Whereby it seemes, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a Particular *Deluge*, saved. As for the Observation, that *Macciavel* hath, that the *Jealousie* of *Sects*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; Traducing *Gregory* the *Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I doe not finde, that those Zeales, doe any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superiour Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Yeare*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; Not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestiall Bodies, have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below, then indeed they have) but in grosse. *Comets*, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect, over the Grosse and Masse of Things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their

Journey, then wisely observed in their Effects; Specially in their Respective Effects; That is, what Kinde of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beames, Placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kinde of Effects. **Influence of Comets**

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say, it is observed, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that Every Five and Thirtie years, The same Kinde and Sute of Years and Weathers, comes about againe: As Great Frosts, Great Wet, Great Droughts, Warme Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I doe the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Sects*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Mens Minds most. The True *Religion* is *built upon the Rocke;* The Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speake therefore, of the *Causes* of New *Sects;* And to give some *Counsell* concerning them; As farre, as the Weaknesse of Humane Judgement, can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; And when the Holinesse of the Professours of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandall; And withall the Times be Stupid,

Vicissitude of Sects

Ignorant, and Barbarous; you may doubt the Springing up of a *New Sect;* If then also there should arise, any Extravagant and Strange Spirit, to make himselfe Authour thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law.* If a *New Sect* have not two Properties, feare it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the Supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For Nothing is more Popular then that. The other is, the Giving Licence to Pleasures, and a Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Heresies* (such as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they worke mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they doe not produce any great Alterations in States; except it be by the Helpe of Civill Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *New Sects.* By the Power of *Signes* and *Miracles:* By the *Eloquence and Wisedome* of *Speech* and *Perswasion:* And by the *Sword.* For *Martyrdomes*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles;* Because they seeme to exceed, the Strength of Human Nature: And I may doe the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holinesse* of *Life.* Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the Rising of *New Sects*, and *Schismes;* then To reforme Abuses; To compound the smaller Differences; To proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary Persecutions; And rather to take off the principall Authours, by Winning and Advancing them, then to enrage them by Violence and Bitternesse.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Warres* are

many; But chiefly in three Things; In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *Warre*; In the *Weapons*; And in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Warres* in ancient Time, seemed more to move from *East* to *West*: For the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars*, (which were the Invaders) were all Easterne People. It is true, the *Gaules* were Westerne; But we reade but of two Incursions of theirs; The one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certaine Points of Heaven: And no more have the *Warres*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any Certainty of Observation. But *North* and *South* are fixed: And it hath seldome or never been seene, that the farre Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World, is in Nature the more Martiall Region: Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere; Or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is knowne, is almost all Sea; Or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern* Parts, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Changes in the Seat of Wars

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Warres*. For great Empires, while they stand, doe enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their owne Protecting Forces: And then when they faile also, all goes to ruine, and they become

War follows upon the Decay of Empires

a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire*; And likewise, in the *Empire* of *Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Fether; And were not unlike to befall to *Spaine*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdomes*, doe likewise stirre up *Warres*. For when a State growes to an Over-power, it is like a great Floud, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seene, in the States of *Rome*, *Turky*, *Spaine*, and others. Looke when the World hath fewest *Barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know meanes to live; (As it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations of People: But when there be *great Shoales* of *People*, which goe on to populate, without foreseeing Meanes of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations: Which the ancient *Northern People*, were wont to doe by Lot: Casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seeke their Fortunes. When a *Warre-like State* growes *Soft* and *Effeminate*, they may be sure of a *Warre*. For commonly such States are growne rich, in the time of their Degenerating; And so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a Warre.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation: yet we see, even they have *Returnes* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the Citty of the

Oxidrakes in *India;* And was that, which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magicke. And it is well knowne, that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*, above 2000. yeares. The Conditions of *Weapons*, & their Improvement are; First, The Fetching a farre off: For that outruns the Danger: As it is seene in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion; wherin likewise *Ordnance* doe exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them: As that they may serve in all Wethers; That the Carriage may be Light and Manageable; and the like.

Changes in the Weapons and Conduct of Warfare

For the *Conduct* of the *Warre:* At the first, Men rested extremely upon *Number:* They did put the Warres likewise upon *Maine Force*, and *Valour;* Pointing Dayes for Pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an even Match: And they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battailes*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent, then Vast: They grew to *Advantages* of *Place*, *Cunning Diversions*, and the like: And they grew more skilful in the *Ordering* of their *Battailes*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Armes* doe flourish; In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning;* And then both of them together for a time: In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanicall Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost Childish: Then his Youth, when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile: Then his Strength of yeares, when it

The revolving Wheels of Vicissitude

is Solide and Reduced: And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth Dry and Exhaust. But it is not good, to looke too long, upon these turning Wheeles of *Vicissitude*, lest we become Giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

A FRAGMENT, OF AN ESSAY,

Of Fame

THE *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monster*. They describe her, in Part, finely, and elegantly; and, in part, gravely, and sententiously. They say, look how many *Feathers* she hath, so many *Eyes* she hath underneath: So many Tongues; So many Voyces; She pricks up so many Ears.

This is a *flourish:* There follow excellent *Parables;* As that, she gathereth strength in going; That she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That, in the day time, she sitteth in a *Watch Tower*, and flyeth, most, by night: That she mingleth Things done, with things not done: And that she is a Terrour to great *Cities:* But that, which passeth all the rest, is: They do recount, that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroyed, thereupon, in an anger, brought forth *Fame:* For certain it is, That *Rebels*, figured by the *Gyants*,

and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers*, and *Sisters; Masculine*, and *Feminine*. But now, if a Man can tame this *Monster*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowle, and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected, with the stile of the *Poets*. To speak now, in a sad, and serious manner: There is not, in all the Politiques, a *Place*, lesse handled, and more worthy to be handled, then this of *Fame*. We will, therefore, speak of these *points*. What are false *Fames;* And what are true *Fames;* And how they may be best discerned; How *Fames*, may be sown, and raised; How they may be spread, and multiplyed; And how they may be checked, and layed dead. And other Things, concerning the *Nature* of *Fame*. *Fame*, is of that force, as there is, scarcely, any great Action wherein, it hath not, a great part; Especially, in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame*, that he scattered; That *Vitellius* had in purpose, to remove the *Legions* of *Syria*, into *Germany;* And the Legions of *Germany*, into *Syria:* whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæsar*, took *Pompey* unprovided, and layed asleep his industry, and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out; How *Cæsars* own Souldiers loved him not; And being wearied with the Wars, and Laden with the spoyles of Gaul, would forsake him, as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia*, setled all things, for the Succession, of her Son *Tiberius*, by continuall giving out, that her hus-

Fame is a Monster to be tamed

The politic Uses of Rumour

band *Augustus*, was upon Recovery, and amendment. And it is an usuall thing, with the *Basshawes*, to conceale the Death of the Great *Turk* from the *Jannizaries*, and men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their Manner is. *Themistocles*, made *Zerxes*, king of *Persia* poast apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out, that the *Græcians*, had a purpose, to break his *Bridge*, of Ships, which he had made athwart *Hellespont*. There be a thousand such like *Examples;* And the more they are, the lesse they need to be repeated; Because a Man, meeteth with them, every where: Therefore, let all Wise *Governers*, have as great a watch, and care, over *Fames*, as they have, of the *Actions*, and Designes themselves.

The rest was not Finished.

The text of the present issue is that of the Third Edition of the "Essays," the final authorised edition, published by Bacon *in* 1625. *The over-elaborate punctuation, the capital letters, and the archaic spelling (except the old use of* u, v, *and* i, j), *have been retained.* Mr. Walter Worrall, B A., *of* Worcester College, Oxford, *has revised the proofs, added the marginalia, and contributed the accompanying Appendix.*

"*A fragment of an Essay, of Fame,*" *is from* Dr. Rawley's "*Resuscitatio,*" 1657.

I. G.

January 1st, 1897.

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS AND FOREIGN PHRASES

The figures in brackets refer to the pages.

Abeunt studia in mores (185): Studies pass into [*i.e.*, go to form] character.

Adeste, si, etc. (6): Come now, if anything remains for me to do.

Amici curiæ . . . Parasiti curiæ (202): 'friends of the court' . . . parasites of the court.

Animasque in vulnere (204): And leave their lives ['souls'] in the wound.

At domus, etc. (134): But the house of Æneas shall rule over all the coasts—his children's children too, and those that shall be born of them.

Atque is habitus, etc. (56): The temper of men's minds was such, that while only a few dared so vile a deed, many desired it and all acquiesced in it.

Cæsarem portas (149): You carry Cæsar and his fortune.

Cogita quam diu, etc. (5): Consider how long you have been doing the same things: death may be desired not only by the valiant or the miserable, but also by the fastidious.

Communia maledicta (206), ill words applicable to all and sundry.

Concessum propter duritiem cordis (151): a thing allowed on account of the hardness of men's hearts.

Conflata magna invidia (48): When great ill-will has been conceived [towards a ruler], all his acts, good or bad, alike condemn him.

Consilium Pompeii (115): Pompey follows the right Themistoclean policy: he thinks that he who commands the sea, commands all.

Cum non sis, etc. (35): When you are no longer what you were, there is no reason why you should wish to live.
Cymini sectores (185), dividers of cummin-seed, 'hair-splitters.'

De facto (37): as a fact, as an actual possession.
Desemboltura (148), 'dexterity, readiness' (Percival); an adroitness which finds an easy and graceful outlet on all occasions for what it is in a man to do or say.
Devita profanas, etc. (10): Avoid profane novelties of words and oppositions of science falsely so called.
Dolendi modus (51): There is a limit to grieving, but none to fearing.
Duces belli (197), military leaders.

Ecce in deserto . . . Ecce in penetralibus (8): Behold, he is in the desert . . . behold, he is in the secret chambers.
Erant in officio (49): They were full of zeal, but more inclined to discuss than to execute the orders of their officers.
Et conversus Deus (36): And God turned to behold the works which his hands had made, and saw that all were very good.
Extinctus amabitur idem (6): The same man, [envied while alive], shall be loved when his light is out.

Faber quisque (148): Every man is the architect of his own fortune.
Feri, si, etc. (6): Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people.
Fons turbatus, etc. (198): A righteous man being cast in his suit in presence of his adversary, is as a troubled fountain and a corrupt spring.

Hæc pro amicitiâ (97): These things, out of regard for our friendship, I have not concealed.
Hinc usura vorax (50): Hence usury rapacious, and interest greedily looking to the reckoning-day, hence credit shaken, and war a gain to many.
Hoc agere (78), keep to the business in hand.
Hominem delirum (93): A madman, who wrecks weighty realities on mere verbal subtleties.

Idem manebat (158): He remained the same, when it was no longer becoming to him.

Ignavum fucos pecus (150): The drones, an idle swarm, they banish from their hives.

Illam Terra parens (48): Her did mother Earth, inflamed with wrath against the Gods, beget (so runs the story), youngest sister to Cœus and Enceladus.

Ille etiam cæcos, etc. (48): He also [the sun] often gives warning of dark rebellions imminent, of treachery and hidden warfare brewing.

Illi mors gravis (36): Death falls heavy on him, who, too well known to all others, dies to himself unknown.

In illo viro (148): There was in him such strength of body and mind, that in whatever rank he had been born, he would have been sure to win fortune for himself.

Iniquum petas (183): Ask for more than is just, in order to get what is just.

In nocte consilium (77): Night brings counsel.

In studio rei, etc. (130): In his pursuit of wealth it was plain that he sought, not food for avarice, but an instrument for generosity.

In sudore vultûs alieni (132, 150), in the sweat of *another's* face.

In sudore vultûs tui (150): In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.

In veste varietas (10): Let there be variety in the garment, but no rending thereof.

Invidia festos (32): Envy keeps no holidays.

Ira hominis (12): The wrath of man doth not fulfil the justice of God.

Jam Tiberium vires, etc. (6): Tiberius was fast losing his bodily strength, but not his gift of dissimulation.

Judicis officium (200): It is a judge's office to inquire not only into the facts of a case, but into the times and occasions thereof.

Jus civitatis (111), the right of citizenship; *jus commercii, etc.*: the right of trading, of marriage, of heredity [*i.e.*, of making and receiving bequests], of suffrage, of holding public office.

Juventutem egit (156): He spent a youth full of errors, nay of madnesses.

Laudando præcipere (192), to instruct by praising.
Legi a se, etc. (56): His soldiers were levied, not bought.
Liberatores or *Salvatores* (197), deliverers or saviours.
Liberiùs, quàm, etc. (50): More freely than was compatible with respect for their rulers.
Livia, conjugii, etc. (6): Farewell, Livia, and keep after me the memory of our marriage.

Magna civitas (94): A great city is a great solitude.
Magnificabo (193): I will magnify mine office.
Magno conatu nugas (92), [produce] trifles with great effort.
Materiam superabit opus (53): The workmanship will surpass the material.
Melior natura (60), a better nature.
Memento quod es, etc. (72): Remember that thou art man.—Remember that thou art God, *or* God's vice-gerent.
Mitte ambos (81): Send them both naked before strangers and you shall see.
Multum incola fuit (145): My soul hath been long a sojourner. (Psalm cxx. 6).

Negotiis pares (106, 197), equal to conducting affairs.
Nomen bonum (191): A good name like fragrant ointment.
Non Deos vulgi (58): It is not profane to deny the gods of the vulgar; but it is profane to apply to the gods the beliefs of the vulgar.
Non est curiosus (27): An inquisitive man is sure to be malevolent also.
Non est jam dicere (59): We cannot now say: As the people, so is the priest. For in fact the people are not so [bad] as the priest.
Non inveniet (76): He shall not find faith on the earth.
Nos scimus (203): We know that the law is good, provided that a man use it lawfully.
Nunc dimittis (6): St. Luke ii. 29.

Octogesimus octavus (136): The 88th is a year of wonders.
Omnis fama (196): All reputation comes from those who are of a man's household.
Omnium consensu (38): By common consent he was fit for empire—had he never become emperor.

Omnium quæ dixerat (194): He had an art of displaying to advantage all that he said and did.
Optimi consiliarii (77): The best counsellors are the dead.
Optimum elige (23): Choose the best, and Custom will make it pleasant and easy.
Optimus ille (144): He best asserts the soul's freedom, who snaps the fetters that gall his breast, and ceases once for all to suffer.

Padre commune (187), common Father, Father of all alike.
Parce, puer (123): Boy, use not the spur, but pull the reins tighter.
Particípes curarum (95, 197), associates in their cares.
Patres Patriæ (197), fathers of their country.
Perpetui principes (196), perpetual princes.
Per saltum (29), at a bound.
Pessimum genus (192), the worst sort of enemies, those that praise you.
Philippis iterum (134): Thou shalt see me again at Philippi.
Placebo (78): 'I will please' (Ps. cxvi. 9); 'to sing a song of *Placebo*' = to flatter, to be complaisant.
Plenus rimarum sum (75): I am full of chinks.
Pluet super eos (199): He shall rain snares upon them.
Poco di matto (149), a little of the fool or madman.
Pompa mortis (5): It is the trappings of death that terrify, rather than death itself.
Primum mobile (49, 61, 188), 'the first moveable' or 'first moved' (*Paradise Lost*, 3. 483): the tenth sphere or heaven of the old astronomy, which carried round with it in its revolution the lower spheres of the planets and fixed stars.
Principis est (76): A prince's greatest virtue is to know his men.
Propagatores or *Propugnatores imperii* (197): Extenders or defenders of empire.
Prudens advertit (85): The wise man takes heed to his own steps; the fool turns aside to deceits.
Pulchrorum autumnus pulcher (159): The autumn of the beautiful is beautiful.

Quam volumus licet (60): Esteem ourselves as we may, Senators, yet we are not superior to the Spaniards in numbers,

nor to the Gauls in bodily force, nor to the Carthaginians in cunning, nor to the Greeks in arts, nor, finally, to the Italians and Latins themselves in the native inborn sentiment of this land and nation; but in piety, and religion, and the one great wisdom — the recognition that all is ruled and ordered by the will of the immortal gods—it is here that we have surpassed all tribes and peoples.

Quanta patimur (29): How great are our sufferings!

Qui de contemnendâ, etc. (194): Those who write books 'On the duty of despising Glory' allow their names to appear on the title-page.

Qui festinat (130): He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.

Qui finem vitæ, etc. (6): [A mind] that reckons the close of life one of Nature's boons.

Qui fortiter emungit (199): 'The wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood.'

Respondes, altero, etc. (92): You reply—with one eyebrow lifted to your forehead and the other drawn down to your chin —that you are no lover of cruelty.

Salus populi (202): The welfare of the people is the supreme law.

Satis magnum (33): We are, one to another, a theatre (or spectacle) ample enough.

Secundum genera (77), by classes.

Se non diversas (84): He said he did not cherish divided hopes, but looked simply to the Emperor's safety.

Serpens nisi serpentem (148): A serpent unless it has eaten a serpent does not become a dragon.

Siete Partidas (197), 'Seven Parts' (the title of a Digest of the laws of Spain).

Si vixero (56): If I live, the Roman Empire will have no further need of soldiers.

Solus imperantium (38): Vespasian, alone among the emperors, was changed for the better [by empire].

Solvam cingula regum (50): I will loose the girdles of kings.

Sospetto licentia fede (122): Suspicion releases faith (from all obligation).

Species virtutibus similes (191), appearances resembling virtues.

Spretâ conscientiâ (191): in disdain of the other's consciousness (of imperfection).
Sui amantes (87): lovers of themselves without a rival.
Sunt plerumque (68): The desires of princes are commonly vehement and contradictory one to another.
Sylla nescivit (55–6): Sylla was ignorant of letters, he could not 'dictate.'

Tanquam unus (188), as one of us (Genesis iii. 22.)
Tantum relligio (11): To so great wrongs could religion prompt.
Telam honoris crassiorem (205), honour of a tougher web.
Terra potens (110): A land powerful in arms and in a fertile soil.
Testamenta et orbos (132–3): Childless men and their bequests were captured as in a net.
Tu quoque Galba (134): Thou also, Galba, shalt taste of empire.

Ubi peccat, etc. (160): Where she errs in the one, she runs a risk in the other.
Ultima primis cedebant (158): The last of him was not equal to the first.
Ut puto Deus fio (6): Meseems I am becoming a God.

Vena porta (71, 151), the 'gate-vein' which distributes blood to the liver.
Venient annis (134): In later ages there shall come a time, when Ocean shall loose the bands of things, and the vast earth shall lie open, and a Typhis shall disclose new worlds, nor shall Thule be the farthest land.
Ver perpetuum (169), a perpetual Spring.
Versatile ingenium (148), versatility.
Vetulam suam (24–5): He preferred his old wife to immortality [*i.e.*, Penelope to Calypso].
Vinum Dæmonum (2), wine of devils.

GLOSSARY

Abroad, put, laid open, spread out 99.
Abridgement, epitome 115.
Absurd, unreasonable 19, 93, 178. Cf. *absurdly* 156.
Abuses, deceptions 182. *Abuseth*, deceives, misleads 156. So *abusing* 85.
Actor, a speaker 90.
Aculeate, furnished with a sting, pointed, incisive 206.
Adamant, a magnet or lodestone 65.
Admittance, by, by admission, as if granted or allowed 92.
Adust, burnt up, dried up with heat (see *Choler*) 138.
Advancements, gifts, bequests 133.
Adventures, ventures, risky enterprises 132. See also *Charge*.
Advised, deliberate, cautious, circumspect 65, 198.
Advoutresses, adulteresses 69.
Æquinoctia, equinoxes 47.
Affect, to desire, aim at, aspire to 1, 27, 42, 83, 195; to like, be fond of 145, 177.
Affection, liking, inclination 23.
After, afterwards, *e.g.* 213. *After as*, according as 145.
Allay, alloy 3
Alley = bowling-alley 81.
Allow, to approve 63, 93, 190.
Almaigne, Germany 212.
Almost, for the most part 158.
Ambassage, embassy 108. (Cf. *embassages.*)
Amiable, worthy of love, lovable 159.
And it were 86, *and it bee* 149: here *and* = if.
Answered some small Matter, paid some small sum 154.
Anticamera, antechamber 166.
Antimasque, a comic or burlesque interlude between the acts of a masque 142.
Antiques, 'antics,' buffoons, burlesque performers 142.
Apparent, plainly visible, manifest 148.
Appetite, in, eager for advancement 178.

Apply, suit, adapt 123; *apply oneself to*, adapt or accommodate oneself to, study 22, 190.
Apposed of, questioned about 83.
Apprehendeth, intends, means 180.
Apricockes, apricots 169.
Arbitrement, arbitration 9.
Argument, subject or theme for consideration 106.
Arietations, assaults with the *aries* or battering-ram 213.
Artificiall, artful, skilful 54.
As often = that; *e.g.*, *so as* = so that 25, 35; *that . . as* = such . . that 17, 127; also 'it is the Nature . . *As* they will set' 86; 'to provide, *as* if' 121.
Aspects, the appearance of the planets in regard to their position among the heavenly bodies at a given time; taken here to mean their 'gaze' or look upon the earth 26.
Assured, sure, certain 38, 51; trusty 56.
Aversation, aversion 94.
Avoidances, (*fine*), (skilfully contrived) channels or outlets by which the water may run off 167.

Baboones, grotesque figures 142.
Band, bond 7, 49.
Barriers, tilting within barriers or lists 142.
Battailes, battalions, bodies of troops 213.
Baugh, said to mean the Bass Rock 136.
Beare it, carry their point, bear the matter out 92.
Beare-berries, barberries 175 (= Berberies 169).
Beat over, *to*: perhaps a metaphor from the hunt 186.
Beautified, adorned, was an adornment of 3.
Because, to the end that, in order that 23, 89, 129.
Become, *where to*, where to get oneself 165.
Beholding, beholden, indebted 32, 194.
Bent, bent-grass, reed-grass 170.
Bever, the beaver or front piece of a helmet 135.
Births, offspring 87.
Blackes, black garments of mourning 5.
Blanch, flatter 77; slip away from, shirk, pass over 92.
Blew, *Blewe*, blue 168.
Blushing, *i.e.*, such as to cause a blush 103.
Boxe, the 'bank' in a game of hazard 152.

Brave, to make a bold show or parade of 55; *braves*, defies, makes light of 33.
Bravery, ostentation, bravado 37, 54, 91, 193; a piece of boastfulness 204; showiness, splendour 143; *upon Bravery*, out of bravado 140.
Breaketh, subdues, subjects, trains 189.
Broake, do business, negotiate 131.
Broken musicke, probably = concerted music, music written in parts for several instruments 141.
Bruit, noise, clamour 193.
Buckling towards, girding oneself to encounter, going to meet 79.
Bullises, bullaces 169.
Burses, Exchanges, '*Bourses*' 64.

Can (to), to be able 36.
Canvasses, intrigues 80.
Card, chart 64, 107.
Care not (to Innovate), are not careful (about innovating) 156.
Cast it, contrive 165. *Casteth them*, makes them incline on one side or other 187.
Castoreum, a medicine obtained from the beaver 95.
Cat in the Pan, The Turning of the: ? reversing the order of things so dexterously as to make them appear the opposite of what they really are (*New English Dict.*) 83.
Catchpole, a sheriff's officer, bailiff 192. Hence is evolved the phrase *Catching and Poling* = snatching and plundering (see *Poling*) 201.
Cauterized, seared (in conscience: see 1 Tim. iv. 2) 59.
Censure, judgment, expression of opinion 105.
Certainty, trustworthiness 17.
Certifie, send information 125.
Cessions, concessions, yielding to another's judgment 195.
Challenge, claim 179.
Chamæiris, a dwarf iris 168.
Chapmen, purchasers, customers 131.
Charge and Adventure, upon = involving expense and risk 194.
Chargeable, costly 115.
Checke with, clash with, interfere with 34, 120.

Choice, with, i.e., with discrimination 43.
Choler, bile, one of the four 'humours,' supposed to cause irascibility of temper: *choler adust*, 'black bile,' another of the humours, the cause of melancholy (here recognised as a morbid condition of bile) 137, 138.
Chop with, to bandy words with 201.
Chopping, exchanging, buying and selling again 131.
Circumstance, attendant ceremony, the accompaniments of an action 196; *Circumstances*, roundabout details, circumlocution 124.
Civil, orderly, cultivating the arts of peace 61; orderly, decorous, seemly 180; *civill Shrift*, lay confession (opposed to 'religious') 95.
Civility, civilization 167.
Clamour, disturb with clamour 78.
Close, secret, concealed 38, 199.
Clove Gilly-flower, the clove pink 170.
Coemption, the buying up of the entire supply of any commodity in the market 132.
Collect, infer 137.
Collegiate, united as in a college or corporate body 147.
Colour, to give their own name to (other men's money), *i.e.*, to lend it out on usury under their own name 155.
Comelines, propriety, seemliness 103.
Comely, becoming, seemly 195.
Comforteth, strengthens, confirms 147.
Commiserable, deserving pity or commiseration 129.
Commoditie, advantage 151–3, 162.
Communicate, shared (*with*) 43.
Complements, compliments, polite forms 189, 190.
Conceit, imagination 129. *Conceits*, thoughts, ideas 20.
Concurrence, coincidence or agreement as to dates 209.
Conference, talk, discourse 165, 185; so *Conferre* 185.
Confidence of, confident belief in 60; *hath Confidence with*, is trusted by 55.
Conscience, consciousness 36.
Construction, interpretation 206.
Containe, hold in, hold together 111; confine, restrict (*within*) 7, 112; restrain (*from*) 205.
Contend, strive, endeavour 196.
Content much, give much pleasure 123.

Conversation, way of life 94; intercourse 95. *Converse in*, are engaged in or occupied with 145; cf. *conversant in* 77.
Convince, refute 57.
Copulate, united, linked together 147.
Cornelian-Tree, the cornel-tree, cornelian cherry 168; *Cornelians*, the fruit of this tree 169.
Correspondence (*good*), comparison, proportion, corresponding position 56. *With Correspondence to*, so as to meet the views or wishes of 186.
Corroborate, strengthened, reinforced 145.
Country Manners, *his*, *i.e.*, the manners of his own country 66.
Crocus Vernus, spring crocus 168.
Crosnesse, disposition to be contrary, perverseness 44.
Crosse Clauses, contrary clauses 9.
Curiosity, elaborate workmanship or design 173; *Curiosities*, nice points, subtleties 26.
Curious, minutely inquiring 26; over-careful or scrupulous 190; over-elaborate, over-subtle 90, 92; occult, magical (arts) 135. *Curiously*, with minute attention 185.
Currantly, with ready flow 120.

Dammasin, damson 168.
Daubed, loaded with tasteless ornament 141.
Decay, cause of destruction, 'ruin' 140.
Deceivable, apt to deceive, deceptive 160.
Deceive, cheat, defraud (*i.e.*, of nourishment) 175.
Decent, fit, seemly, graceful 159, 166, 175.
Declination, decline, decay 83, 113.
Decline, turn aside, avert 149.
Deduced, brought before a tribunal 203.
Deliveries, *fine*, ingenious methods of getting out of, or getting rid of (danger) 68. *Deliveries of a Mans Selfe*, perhaps = ways of bringing out or giving effect to what is in him.
Denying, refusing 182. So *Deniall*, refusal 183.
Dependances, dependencies, prerogatives 76; body of dependants, clientèle 140.
Depraving, slandering 182.
Derive, draw aside, divert the course of 30.
Desart, a 'wilderness' 170.
Destitute, desert, leave destitute 129.

Device, the plot or general arrangement of a stage performance or show; a tableau 141, 142.
Device, point: see *Point.*
Diet, take his meals 65.
Difficilnesse, the character of one who is difficult to deal with 44.
Direction, wits of, intellects capable of directing or deciding affairs 85.
Disabling, disparaging, depreciating 182.
Discerne . . from, distinguish from 140.
Discharge itselfe, free itself from the charge, clear itself 122.
Discoloured, bereft of colour, pale 5.
Discommoditie, disadvantage 151, 153, 162.
Discoursing, discursive, passing lightly from one thought to another 1.
Discover, make known or manifest, disclose, reveal 16, 181.
Discoverie, revelation, disclosure 18, 151, 183.
Dispenseth with, excuses, condones 138.
Distasted, disgusted 182. So *Distastes*, annoyances 16.
Ditty, the words of a song 141.
Divers, diverse, different 8. Cf. *diversly* 109.
Donative, giving, bestowing 129; a gift, present 56, 72, 117.
Doubt, to fear, suspect, think likely 81, 104, 210.
Drie, hard, severe; *drie blow*, a smart hit 124.
Drinesse, condition of being dried up, failure 154.

Eccentricks, circles or orbits not having the earth exactly at their centre 61.
Edge, stimulate, 'egg on' 154.
Ejaculation, a darting forth, emission of rays 26.
Election, choice, discrimination 160, 180.
Embaseth, makes base 3. (Cf. *imbaseth.*)
Embassages, embassies 192. (Cf. *ambassage.*)
Enforme, inform 78.
Engines, contrivances, 'machinery' 61; machines 146.
Entend, intend 172.
Enterchange, interchange 67, 119.
Enterlace, interlace, insert parenthetically 192.
Entertainment, something to occupy men's thoughts 182.
Epicure, Epicurean, follower of Epicurus 12.

Epicycle, a little circle, whose centre describes a greater circle (*eccentric*) about the earth; each of the planets was supposed to move in such a small circle 61.
Equalitie of Bores, ? pipes of equal bore 174.
Equipollent, equal in power, equivalent 146.
Espials, spies 179. (Cf. *spialls*.)
Estate, a State, government 31, 45, 105; so *Matters of Estate* (= State affairs) 78, 203; *discourse of Estate* 81. —*His owne Estate*, his own affairs 27.—*Estates of Men* = orders, professions 180.
Estivation, passing the summer: *Place of Estivation* = a summer retreat 166.
Eugh, yew 168.
Exaltation, in his, in the region where its influence is strongest (a term of astrology) 147.
Excusations, excuses, making excuses 90, 195.
Exhaust, exhausted 24, 214.
Expect, wait for 131.
Experience, trial, experiment: *would be put in experience* = ought to be tried 127.
Expert Men, men who have been trained by experience or practice 184.
Externe, external, outside 157.

Facile, easily wrought upon or 'got at' 24. *Facilitie*, undue readiness to please, give way to, or be swayed by others 37, 38, 190.
Facts, deeds, acts 12.
Fained, feigned (*i.e.*, 'fancy prices') 129; so *fainedly* 94.
Faire, in parenthesis = just, simply: *i.e.*, 'will e'en let him go on' 20.
Falls, ? incidents, incidental passages (of affairs); or perhaps, issues, conclusions 84.
Fame, rumour, report 48, 214–16; reputation 21, 193–4.
Fascets, facets 196.
Fast, tenacious, retentive ('of their Smels') 169.
Fast upon, close upon 46.
Favour, features, expression of the countenance 101, 158. *Evill favoured*, ill-looking, 'ugly' 145.
Fearefull, timid 106, 139; *Fearfulnesse*, timidity 20.
Fetching, reaching, striking 213.

Fift, fifth: *Fift Essence* = quintessence, the immutable essence of which the heavenly bodies are formed 57.
Figure, in, i.e., so as to form a pattern, as a complete picture 99.
Flash, for a, for a moment 113.
Flashy, insipid, 'flat' 185.
Flos Africanus, a kind of marigold 169.
Flower, flour 126.
Flower-Delices, irises (*fleurs-de-lis*) 168.
Fly, fly at (with a hawk) 215.
Foot, under: see *Under*.
Foot-pace, a raised floor or platform (on which the bench is set) 201.
Foreseene, provided 52.
Forwardnesse, in, making progress 129, 183.
Frame, out of, disordered, out of gear 50.
Frettellaria, fritillary 168.
Friarly, friar-like 130.
Fume, empty fancy 208.
Futile, incontinent of speech, talkative 18, 75.

Galliard, an old French dance of a spirited character 123.
Gallo-Grecia, Galatia 211.
Gauderie, showy display 117.
Gingles, jingles, rattles 128.
Ginnitings, jennetings (a kind of early apple) 169.
Given over, given up, abandoned 195, 209.
Globe, a compact body of things clustered together 36.
Glorious, ostentatious, vain-glorious 133, 179, 193, 194.
Glory, vain-glory 194, 200; fine show 142.
Goeth away with it, wins the advantage, comes off the winner 187.
Gracing, complimenting 201.
Gracious, acceptable to others, deserving their thanks 182, 195.
Great Yeare, Plato's, a great cycle of years, at the end of which the celestial bodies would be found to have returned to the positions they were in at the beginning of the cycle 208.
Grotta, grotto 166.
Ground, settled rule 161.
Growing Silke, vegetable silk, 'grass silk' 127.

Haberdashers, retail dealers or vendors 81.
Habilitation, qualification, a making apt or able 113.
Halfe Peece : i.e., like a silver penny cut in halves, to supply the want of a minted half-penny 97.
Hand, at a deare, at a dear rate 90. *Of even hand*, at an even balance (of accounts) 104. *To come at even hand*, to come to an equality, to be even (with another) 26.
Healths, i.e., the drinking of healths or toasts (which, in Bacon's time, meant deep drinking) 65. (Cf. 143.)
Heath, a 'wilderness' 170, 174.
Heigth, Heighth, height 46, 96.
Herba Muscaria, Muscari, a genus of plants allied to the hyacinth 169.
Herselike, hearse-like, funereal 16.
Hiacynthus Orientalis, the ordinary cultivated hyacinth 168.
Hollyokes, hollyhocks 169.
Holpen, helped 76, 105.
Hooded, having the head covered up so that they cannot see (a term of falconry) 63.
Hortatives, exhortations 24.
Humorous, guided by one's own 'humour,' full of odd 'humours' or fancies 24.

Imbaseth, degrades 34. (Cf. *embaseth.*)
Imbosments, embossments, projections 173.
Impertinency, irrelevance 200. *Impertinent*, irrelevant 92.
Importeth, is of importance 9, 107, 113.
Importune, importunate 31, 179.
Impostumations, impostumes, abscesses 54.
Impression, of the last, bearing the mark of what they have been last impressed by 181.
Impropriate, appropriate 117.
Inbowed Windowes, bow-windows 165.
Incensed, burnt (as incense) 16.
Incommodities, disadvantages, drawbacks 151.
Incurreth . . into the note, comes under the observation (of others) 28.
Indifferent, impartial 19, 46, 78.
Industriously, purposely 18.
Infamed, made infamous 69.

Information, make an, make something known, bring something to the notice of others 181–2.
Ingaged (*with*), bound, stuck fast in 146.
Ingrossing, engrossing, monopolising; buying up goods wholesale in order to secure a monopoly and raise prices 29, 53.
Inordinate, ungoverned (in one's passions) 33.
Intend, devote oneself to, give earnest attention to 113; so *Intention* (same passage).
Interessed, interested 13.
Interest, at, i.e., on terms for which they would have to pay heavily later on 69.
Interlocution, speaking turn and turn about with others 124.
Intervenient, intervening 203.
Inure, to train, habituate 139.
Inward, intimate, confidential 38, 75. *Inward Beggar, i.e.*, a secret bankrupt, concealing his poverty 93.

Jade, to over-drive 122.
Just (cure), *i.e.*, proper, exact 52.
Justs, jousts, tilting with the lance 142.

Kinde, in that, in that way 18, 154.
Knap, hillock, knoll 162.
Knee Timber, timber that is bent or grown crooked 44.
Knots, garden beds, plots 171.

Laudatives, eulogies 116–17.
Leese, lose 71, 106, 120, 125.
Legend, the Golden Legend (*Legenda aurea*) or collection of Lives of the Saints, compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine (57).
Lelacke, lilac 168.
Letting, for, for fear of hindering or obstructing 172.
Light well, fall to a worthy possessor 159.
Lightly, usually 187.
Like, likely 82 (and elsewhere).
Lilium Convallium, lily of the valley 169.
Limitted, determined, measured 103–4.
Lively, livelily, vividly 15.

Loading Part, on the, on the side which adds to the load or weight, (and so aggravating the misfortune) 44.
Look: used to call attention or give emphasis to the statement that follows; *e.g.* 191, 212.
Loose, lose 35, 202.
Looses (*in the Conclusion*), ways out of difficult or 'tight' places 85.
Lot, the spell cast by witchcraft or sorcery 30.
Lurcheth, swallows up, absorbs 162.

Maine, the body of a thing, the chief or principal part (? = main stream) 84.
Mainly, strongly, greatly 50, 131.
Maintaine, support, back 97; so *maintained* 60.
Make for, to be conducive to 1, 115; *for whom it maketh*, for whose advantage it is 58.
Mannage, management 156.
Mannaged, well, properly broken and trained (in the manège), well in hand 17.
Manure, to till or cultivate 127.
Many times, often, in many cases 21, 22, 87, 159.
Marish, marshy 128.
Masteries, superiority, superior strength 120; *to try Masteries with*, to contend with for victory, to measure one's strength against 68.
Mate, to overpower 5, 51.
Materiall, occupied exclusively with the matter in hand (*i.e.*, dealing nakedly and abruptly with the real matter, without 'circumstance' or circumlocution) 91.
Matted Pinck, a small creeping pink, used for borders 170.
Matter, the: (we now omit the definite article) 3, 207.
Matter, upon the, all things considered, on the whole 161.
May, ? the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth 136.
Meane, means (to an end) 68, 181, 183; an agent or go-between 183 ('in the choice of his Meane'). *In a Meane, i.e.*, in moderate terms or language 15.
Meerely, absolutely, entirely 9, 116, 207.
Meere Stone, a boundary stone 198.
Meeteth with it, answers it, hits the point 94.
Melo-Cotones, a large kind of peach 169.
Mercury Rod, the caduceus, borne by Mercury when he conducts the shades of the dead to Hades 12.

Mew, to moult 108.
Mezerion Tree, the Mezereon, a shrub with very fragrant flowers 168.
Middest, in the, in the midst 22, 163.
Militar, military 194.
Militia, an army, soldiery 108, 112.
Modell, the plan of a work, the scale on which it is made or done 9, 163, 176; *little model*, a frame or plan in little 117.
Moderator, one who presides at and directs a debate, and gives a summing-up and decision upon it 90. So *Moderate*, to act as a moderator 122.
Momus, in the fable, found fault with a house for not being built on wheels, so that its occupant might get away from bad neighbours 162.
Morris daunce, a dance of mummers on May-day 8.
Mought, might 54 (and elsewhere).
Muniting, fortifying 11.
Mystery, secret or hidden meaning 15. *Mysteries are due to Secrecy: i.e.*, the man who can keep silence is the right person to impart mysteries to (18).

Naught, bad, deserving condemnation or contempt 131, 191.
Neastling, nestling-place 176.
Nephews, grandsons 97.
Newell, the central column of a winding staircase; where the steps are pinned into the wall and there is no central pillar, the staircase is said to have an *open newel* (164).
Nice, scrupulous, 'particular' 111; over-delicate in style, ('finikin') 141.
Nicenesse, fastidiousness 5.
Note, notice 28; something notified, information 183.
Nothing to, i.e., contributing nothing to 174 (cf. the end of the essay).
Nourish little, receive little nourishment 71.

Obnoxious, exposed, liable, or subject (*to*) 77, 139; submissive 161.
Obtaine, attain (*to*) 17; *obtaineth*, prevails, wins its cause 201.
Odds, eminent, marked advantage or superiority 180.

Oes, small round discs or 'spangles' (like the letter O) 142.
Of long, for long 199–200.
Officious, forward to do offices, ready to serve 161, 180.
Opinion, reputation, credit 93, 193–4; *to have Openesse in Fame and Opinion, i.e.*, to have a reputation for frankness 20–1; *Opinion of the Touch of a Mans Reputation, i.e.*, the thought or belief that one's reputation is touched or attacked 205.
Orbs, spheres 50; orbits 61.
Overcome, become master of, make one's own 131.
Over-speaking, addicted to over-much speaking 200.

Paires, impairs 88.
Palme, a hand's-breadth 69.
Pardon, by, by making allowances 159.
Particular, partial 207. (*In his own*) *particular* = particular case or affairs 55.
Pasport, leave of departure 122.
Passable, of tolerable ability 180; *Passable with*, acceptable to 186.
Passages, ? the connecting portions of a speech, serving for transition from one topic to another 90.
Pauls, St. Paul's Cathedral or 'Paul's Walk,' used as a general promenade and place of resort in Bacon's time 84.
Pawnes, pledges 152.
Perfect in, skilled or accomplished in 80, 190.
Perish, cause to perish, injure 98.
Personate, to represent as a person and assign a part to 12.
Philology, the learning or literature of a subject 214.
Pine-Apple-Trees, pine-trees 168.
Piony, peony 168.
Place, precedency 65; a topic 215. *To take little Place, i.e.*, to have but small weight or effect 182.
Placebo: see Index of Phrases.
Plaie-pleasure, the pleasure felt in witnessing a play or drama 27.
Plant, to colonize; *Plantation*, a colony, colonizing 125–9.
Platforme, plan 176.
Plausible, praiseworthy, deserving applause 31, 48.
Pleasing, complaisant 120.

Plie, a bend (given to the mind: cf. *pliant* just before) 147.
Point, a subject or matter (defined by what follows): thus, *Point of Estate* = the State, something that concerns the State 203; *from the Point of Contempt*, *i.e.*, from anything connected with contempt 206.
Point, to appoint 164, 213.
Point Device, fashioned or adjusted with extreme precision and neatness 190.
Poler, one who exacts money 202.
Poling, plundering, exacting fees 201.
Politique, *Politicke*, political, employed by the State 29, 80; *Politique Ministers*, *i.e.*, Ministers of State 114.
Politiques, *Politickes*, politicians, statesmen 8, 17, 44; *the Politiques*, the science of politics or statecraft 215.
Poll, a 'head' or unit of population; *the hundred* (= hundredth) *poll*, *i.e.*, one man in a hundred 109.
Popular, courting the favour of the people 56; so *Popularitie* 180.
Poser, an examiner or questioner in the Schools 123.
Practize, *Practise*, plotting, machination, crafty dealing 11, 81, 131, 178.
Praying in Aid of Alchymists, calling in Alchemists to help the case 98.
Preheminences, prëeminences 29.
Pre-occupateth, anticipates 5.
Prescription, right or title acquired by continued use or possession 178.
Present, a formal message or injunction 113.
Presently, straightway, immediately 101, 152.
President, precedent 37, 87, 202.
Presseth, depresses 46.
Prest, prompt 114.
Pretendeth, makes a pretext of 89; cf. 114, 'as may be pretended.'
Prevent, anticipate 200.
Prickt, planted 174; so perhaps *prick in* 66.
Primum Mobile: see Index of Phrases.
Principiall, initial 135.
Private, *for his owne*: *i.e.*, private benefit 127.
Proofe, the result of trial or experience: *the Proofe is best* = it is found to turn out best 22.

Proper, (of words) having a personal application 206.
Propriety, special character 8.
Prospectives, 'perspective glasses;' an optical contrivance of the stereoscope-kind 92.
Proyning, cultivating, pruning 184.
Purchase, to obtain, acquire 13, 196; *a New Purchase*, a new acquisition 187.
Pure, free (of inhabitants), unoccupied 125.
Purpose, of, intentionally, purposely 30.
Purprise, enclosure, enclosed area 201.
Push, pustule, blister 192.
Pusle, puzzle, distraction 36. *Pusleth*, puzzles 20.
Put you in way for, put you in the way of 102.
Pythonissa, a woman possessed with a spirit of divination 134.

Quadlins, codlins 169.
Quarrell, reason, plea 25; cf. *Grounds and Quarells* 114.
Quarter, keepe, keep its proper place 34; *kept good Quarter betweene themselves*, kept on friendly terms 83.
Quecking = either (1) flinching or (2) crying out 146.

Race, onward course or progress 204.
Raspes, raspberries 169.
Ravisheth, carries away violently or hastily 61.
Reason (*it is, it were*), reasonable 23, 35, 47. *Much like is the Reason of* = their case is much the same 161.
Recamera, inner chamber, back chamber 166.
Receipt, receptacle 173.
Reciproque, reciprocal; *the Reciproque* = reciprocal affection 33.
Reduced, brought within a limited (and so more profitable) range of subjects 214.
Referendaries, referees 182.
Regard, upon, i.e., out of personal regard 190. *In regard*, because 109.
Regiment, regimen, Essay xxx.
Reiglement, regulation 153.
Relate himselfe, tell his thoughts 100.
Remover, one who is always moving about or stirring 149.
Reparation of a Deniall: the gaining of one's suit, on a second urging, after it has been once refused 183.

Reputed of, well, having a good reputation 56.
Resemblance, comparison, likening 202; *resembled*, likened, compared 74.
Resorts, ? springs, starting-points, sources; or = the springs or movements (of machinery); this phrase *Resorts and Falls of Businesse* still awaits explanation (84).
Respect, have regard to 119. *Respected*, attended to 22. *Respects*, regard for persons, personal considerations, punctilious observances 38, 46, 190; Essay lii. (title). *In respect*, in case 104.
Rest, set up their, staked everything (upon an issue) 116.
Returnes, wings or side-buildings built out at the back of a house 163, 166.
Ribes, currants 169.
Rid, despatch, get done 112.
Rise (though it be of the best), i.e., come from the best source 132.
Roule, roll 139.
Round (dealing), straightforward, direct 3; *spoile the Feathers of round flying, i.e.*, prevent their flying direct to the mark 20.

Saciety, Sacietie, satiety 5, 189.
Sad, sober 215; of sober hue 16.
Sarza, sarsaparilla 95.
Satyrian, a species of orchis 169.
Scantling, measure, limit 197.
Scope, aim, object aimed at 113.
Season, in, in their happy time, at the time when they come out strongest 44.
Secretted, kept secret 17.
Secure, without care, at ease 51; *Security*, serene freedom from care, sense of safety 15.
Seeke for, to, at a loss for 153.
Seel'd, having the eyelids sewn up (a term of falconry) 138.
Seelings, panellings, wainscotings 194.
Sentence, judgment, opinion 207.
Severall, separate, distinct, different 17, 72, 186.
Sharings, partnerships 132.
Shrewd, mischievous, hurtful 85.
Shut it selfe out to take, debar itself from taking 154.

Side (*oneself*), to take a side, adhere to one party 39, 188.
Slight it over, dismiss it slightly, slur it over 41.
Slope, sloping 172.
Slugge, drag, hindrance to motion 152.
Smother, *passe in*, be smothered or stifled 100; cf. *keep in Smother* 121.
Softly, with slow or gentle movement 17, 50.
Solœcisme, a gross error or blunder 68.
Sort with, agree or harmonize with, match, suit 17, 103, 144; associate or consort with 22; *sorteth to*, turns to, results in 22, 95; *it sorted with them*, things turned out in their case, they fared (accordingly) 111.
Spaces, intervals 145.
Spangs, spangles 142.
Speculative into, disposed to pry into 76.
Spialls, spies 161. (Cf. *espials*.)
Spirits, *good*, *i.e.*, men of good or noble spirit 5.
Staddles, young trees left standing in a copse when other trees and underwood are cut down 109.
Stages, the 'theatre' of wars 211.
State, an estate 105, 133; government, statecraft 118; government, governing body 202–3; a rank or order of persons 71, 110.
Statua, statue 100; pl. *Statua's* 142.
Stay, *at a*, at rest 207; *stand at a stay*, stand still 41, 47, 67.
Steale it, do it stealthily, act by stealth 38.
Sticke, hesitate, scruple 198.
Stirps, stocks, families 45.
Stond, impediment, stoppage 148, 185.
Stood upon, insisted upon 113.
Stooved, stoved, *i.e.*, kept in a hothouse 168.
Store, a good quantity 126.
Successe, result, issue 177, 182.
Sufficiencie, ability 38, 180. *Sufficient*, able 190.
Suspect, suspicious 187; *a Suspect*, an object for suspicion 89, 191.
Sustentation, sustenance 212.
Sute, 'suite,' sequence 209.

Take (*the Sense*), charm (the feelings or judgment) 141. *Take in with* = take up with, join 187. *Take with*, take, admit, employ 180. *Take a Fall*, suffer a defeat 20.

Tarrasses, terraces 167.
Taxing, censuring, finding fault with 37.
Temperature, temperament 20.
Tendering, treating with care, nursing 119.
Termes, upon, i.e., on terms of formality 103.
Then, than (*passim*).
Thorow, through 15; so *Thorow Lights* 165.
Touch, Speech of, speech that has a direct personal reference (and 'comes home to a man') 124. (See also s.v. *Opinion*.)
Tourneys, tournaments 142.
Towardnesse, docility (the opposite of *frowardness*) 70.
Toy, a trifle, a thing of no serious importance 66, 140, 143, 209.
Tract (*of yeares*), length 158. *Tracts of his Countenance*, features, play of features 19.
Transcendences, imaginative flights 15.
Trash, a contemptuous term for money, worldly goods 45.
Travaile, labour 112; but in Essay xviii. = travel. *Travels*, labours 29.
Treaties, treatises 9.
Trench to, trench on, touch 203.
Tribunitious, like a tribune or demagogue, clamorous 78.
Triumphs, shows or displays of some magnificence 2, 163, and Essay xxxvii.
Troth, truth 20.
Tulippa, tulip 168.
Turquets, ? Turkish dwarfs 142.

Under Foot: below the real value 152.
Undertake, to take up (an affair), take in hand 181, 182; so *Undertakers* 127.
Unsecreting, divulging 75.
Uphold, make up for (losses) 132.
Upon (*the Forrainer*), at the expense of 53.
Upon Speed, with speed 130.
Ure, out of, out of practice 20. *Iron Ure*, iron ore 127.
Use, usury, interest 152.

Vaine, 'vein,' disposition, habit of mind 123.
Valew, put a high value on, recommend as men of substance 132.

Vecture, carriage, carrying 53.
Vena Porta: see Index of Phrases.
Ventureth, runs a risk 160.
Version, turning, direction 209.
Vertue, excellence, the quality of a 'high spirit' (not limited to moral virtue) 158; so *Vertuous*, of great parts 46.
Vindicative, vindictive 14.
Voice, give voice to, proclaim 37.
Votary (*resolution*), depending upon a vow 146.
Vouched, adduced 8.
Voyeing, giving out, proclaiming 183.
Vulgar, common, applicable to many alike 192.

Wait upon, watch, observe, dwell upon 81, 208, 209.
Wantons, spoilt children 22.
Wardens, a kind of pear chiefly used for baking 169.
Warme set, planted in a warm situation or aspect; or perhaps, grown in a hot-bed 168
Way, *giveth best*, best opens a way (to attaining one's object) 186; *keepe way with*, keep pace with 148.
Welts, borders 172.
Wether, *in*, in rough weather, in a storm 202.
Winde of him, *take the*, play up to him 78.
Wit, *a great*, a great intellect, a man of great intellectual powers 161; cf. *discoursing Wits* 1.
With, a withy, osier twig 146.
Witty, ingenious 9.
Wood, *in a*, in a maze 139.
Worke, work upon, influence 178.
Workes, designs 165.
Would be, often = should be: *e.g.*, *would be brideled*, ought to b bridled 123; *this would be done* 81; *Care would be had* 62.

Zelants, zealots 9.

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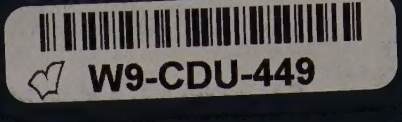
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